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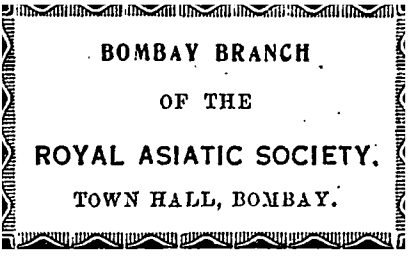

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LIVES

OF

THE ENGLISH CARDINALS;

INCLUDING

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF

THE PAPAL COURT,

FROM

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR (POPE ADRIAN IV.) TO THOMAS WOLSEY,
CARDINAL LEGATE

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ac

BY

FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS,

AUTHOR OF "THE COURT AND TIMES OF JAMES I.," "THE COURT AND TIMES OF CHARLES I.," "MEMOIRS OF SOPHIA DOROTHEA," ETC. ETC.

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Book the Third.

ENGLISH CARDINALS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

PHILIP REPINGDON, CARDINAL PRIEST.

Religious Excitement in England—Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh—Wickliffe, Warden of Canterbury College—The Mendicant Orders assailed at Oxford—Philip Repingdon Canon of Leicester, joins Wickliffe—Humility and Purity of Life of the Reformers—Enormous Papal Patronage in England—Wickliffe's Reply to a Monk—Bulls against him—His Confession of Faith—Repingdon denounced—His Sermon in the Cloisters of St. Frideswide—His Popularity—Persecution—Flight of Repingdon—makes his Submission and abjures his Errors—Death of Wickliffe—Repingdon's Elevation—He becomes a Persecutor—Thorpe and Archbishop Arundel—The Primate's Constitutions—Repingdon, Bishop of Lincoln and Cardinal.

PUBLIC dissatisfaction with the working of the papal system in England had been expanding century after century with the progress of intelligence. In the schools there seemed always more or less regard paid to opinions that had been expressed by scholars of eminence, even if restrained by papal authority; while the superstitious practices which had originated in the ignorance of the people during the Middle Ages, were openly denounced by liberal and enlightened churchmen. There was

much religious feeling in the land; but the more it increased, the more strenuous became its opposition to habits of living and usages that were inconsistent with the clerical profession. Society seemed preparing for a great change, and required only a few powerful and courageous minds to direct it.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, distinguished himself as an opponent of the mendicant orders. Like Bishop Grosstête, he was impatient of the abuses of the Roman system, and denounced the enormous evils it had created. The discourses and writings of these eminent religious reformers had created a great effect in England about the middle of the fourteenth century, and wherever superior intelligence or virtue was to be found, they were certain to be discussed and approved. The archbishop died in 1360, but his principles did not die with him. The desire for a reform in the Church was gaining strength, particularly among rising scholars; and many young and energetic priests began openly to declaim against the begging friars, with a full consciousness that they were assailing the outworks of the stronghold of papal corruption. Prominent among these was John Wickliffe, at this period rector of Fylingham.

He was selected to fill the post of warden by the secular scholars of Canterbury College, to which body he belonged, while the archbishop promoted the election of Henry Wodehull, a member of one of the monastic fraternities, and insisted that the choice must fall on a monk. The fellows elected Wickliffe; then the primate seized the revenues of the college. The quarrel was carried on with great heat at Canterbury,

Wickliffe evidently being popular there. At last the cause was transferred to Rome, where so much was made in the papal court of Wickliffe's suspected heterodoxy, that the cardinal of St. Marcellus, to whom it was referred, gave judgment against him. He was ejected, and Wodehull appointed warden in his place,*—a gross act of injustice, because the former had been accepted by the founder, Archbishop Islip, on the 5th of December, 1365.†

The interposition of the Pope and cardinals to effect his disgrace brought on them a share of the animosity with which he had previously assailed the monks and friars. By this time feelings of hostility against them, particularly the mendicant orders, had grown to such a height among the regular clergy and the students at college that constant disturbances occurred. In the universities an attack upon them was sure to obtain a favourable hearing, so that when the displaced warden went to Oxford, and began to inveigh against their numbers, their in-

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford," i. 482. While warden, Wickliffe is said to have numbered among his pupils Chaucer the poet.—Idem, 488.

† The Rev. Walter Waddington Shirley, in his Introduction to one of the works printed under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, asserts that the John Wickliffe turned out of the wardenship of Canterbury College, and the John Wickliffe, rector of Fylingham and master of Balliol College, were two distinct persons. This idea was first put forward by Mr. Courthorpe, in a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1841. In a note placed at the end of Mr. Shirley's volume, the facts are carefully examined, and he comes to the conclusion already expressed. It is difficult, however, to explain why a contemporary, Dr. Woodforde, should refer to the displaced warden as *the* John Wickliffe.—"Fasciculi Tizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif," &c.

solence, their greediness, their pride, their luxury, and similar characteristics, he not only had many listeners, but many coadjutors. Presently he formed his friends into a body, and publicly in the schools, assisted by several eminent professors, entered into controversy with the boldest of the friars respecting points of doctrine.

It became evident that the long-desired apostle of religious reform had appeared—at a period too when the national spirit was indignant at papal attempts at coercion. The principal university, where most of the distinguished prelates of the Anglican Church had received their education, at last became so conspicuous for the ardour with which controversies were carried on against Roman dogmas and ceremonies, that orthodox churchmen sounded the alarm.

The eminence and popularity of Wickliffe,—now master of Balliol College and doctor of divinity, as well as incumbent of Lutterworth,—and of the thirteen distinguished scholars by whom he was openly assisted, caused rapid dissemination of his opinions. These created great excitement, as they were sometimes completely at variance with such as were taught by the Church. They were particularly obnoxious to the monks, who usually professed ultra-orthodoxy. The latter formed a council, with the assistance of four of the regular clergy, and pronounced them dangerous heresies.*

The coadjutors of Wickliffe in the mental crusade he was preaching against pontifical abuses, were, like himself, Catholics who desired only a purer catholicity. They were priests possessed of superior

* Of the twelve members of the council, eight were monks.

attainments, who led unexceptionable lives. Like many zealous churchmen in an earlier age, like more than one pontiff, they desired a reformation in the Church. English enterprise had helped materially in establishing the Papacy, but the appetite had grown with what it fed on, till it threatened to devour all nationality. English judgment had restrained popular devotion within rational bounds; but Roman cupidity had stimulated it till enthusiasm became idolatry. The operation of such intelligence now was directed against excesses in ecclesiastical government, the results of inordinate pride and neglected discipline.

The religious fraternities in England had drawn upon themselves a large amount of popular indignation and ridicule. Satire had become a prominent feature in English literature, and historians and poets joined in exposing priestly folly, hypocrisy, and greediness. It was against such "caterpillars of the commonwealth" that Wickliffe declared war. He wrote against them, and preached against them, with uncompromising energy. Oxford was overrun with friars and monks—indeed, so was the kingdom. Some came forward to answer these attacks, but to very little purpose. His denunciations and exposures appear to have shamed at least four members of the mendicant orders, who joined him and helped him in his work. Amongst them Philip Repingdon, a canon of Leicester, preached the same popular appeals. Several of the orders possessed vast influence at the papal court, where their complaints against the audacity of the Oxford schismatics became daily more grievous.

The favourable impression Wickliffe made upon

the people was owing quite as much to the purity of his life as the boldness of his doctrine. His personal appearance conformed to that of the originators of Christianity. He went barefoot, in a russet gown — in marked contrast to the scarlet robes and other affectations of state which distinguished ecclesiastics. This was a grave offence in the eyes of all who delighted in clerical parade. The greater their assumption of state, the more incensed were they at seeing such a protest against it; and the prelates, the cardinals, and the Pope were of one mind to put down the English reformer.

The introduction of aliens into English benefices was still a monstrous evil. It has been shown that in the reign of Henry III. this abuse of papal patronage absorbed a revenue three times that of the Crown. Edward III. instituted, in 1374, an inquiry into the value of benefices still in the hands of foreigners, and placed the name of Wickliffe second on the list of commissioners. The result was so startling—it was now five times the revenue of the Crown—that Parliament complained of the diversion of so large a fund for the maintenance of foreigners, "amongst which number," Fox avers, "the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share." This was the root of the evil. It formed a portion of the patronage of the papal court; and though the Pope more than once promised that the grievous wrong should be redressed, the cardinals profited too much by its existence to consent. The English legislature therefore passed a statute against the usurpations of the Pope, and made the sense of it extremely plain to papal understandings.

In one passage it is stated, "That the Pope's collector, being also receiver of the Pope's pence, keepeth an house in London, with clerks and officers thereunto belonging, as if it were one of the king's solemn courts, transporting yearly to the Pope twenty thousand marks, and most commonly more."

Here follows an enumeration of the clerical dignities possessed by foreigners—a cause of great dissatisfaction to English churchmen, in every way better qualified to fulfil the duties they imposed on the possessor,* as well as a grievous wrong to the Anglican Church, whose offices of honour were so thoughtlessly disposed of. It was, however, a wrong which the community had long endured; moreover, was one their posterity were forced to endure, till a more determined anti-papal movement effected the desired change. The statute then avers: "That the Pope to ransom Frenchmen, the king's enemies who defend Lombardy for him, doth always at his pleasure levy a subsidy of the whole clergy of England: that the Pope for more gain maketh sundry translations of all the bishopricks and other dignities within the realm: that the Pope's collector hath this year taken to his use the first-fruits of all benefices; that therefore it would be good to renew all the statutes against provisors from Rome, since the Pope reserveth all the benefices of the world for his own proper gift, and hath within this year created twelve new cardinals; so that now there are thirty; whereas there were wont to be but twelve in all; and all the said thirty cardinals, except two or three, are the king's enemies."*

* Lewis, "Life of Wickliffe," 35.

The rest of the bill was given to the relation of other instances of spoliation and oppression, making out a case that loudly called for legislative interference. Its composition was no doubt Wickliffe's. He had also answered the monk who had ventured to defend the Pope. His reply was given in the form of a debate in the upper House of Parliament, and the arguments there introduced are so intensely anti-papal, that the zealots raised an outcry denouncing the Reformer as a deserter and an enemy. The campaign against him and his abettors commenced with a bull from Pope Gregory, addressed to the authorities of the university, to put an immediate stop to the mischievous, wicked, and damnable heresies vomited out of the breast of the parson of Lutterworth; and, after giving them a good scolding, the document insisted that he should be surrendered into the safe custody of either the archbishop of Canterbury (Sudbury) or the bishop of London (Courteney), to whom other bulls were sent, commanding them to admonish the king and imprison the heretics. Another mandate was forwarded to the king. The primate immediately sent to the chancellor of the university directing him to summon Wickliffe to appear before him at St. Paul's.*

Everything seemed to threaten Wickliffe's destruction. His enemies, the prelates, had assembled with a determination to crush him and his heresy with all possible despatch. While they were deliberating, a messenger entered the chamber in which they had assembled, and in the name of the Princess of Wales forbade their proceeding further.

* Wilkins, "Concilia," iii. 116.

It has also been stated that the citizens of London made a similar requisition; certain it is that the reformer escaped with an admonition—a signal triumph for the Oxford reformers, who, seeing their leader thus powerfully protected, considered his cause likely to prevail. The consequence was a marked increase in the number of Wickliffites, and a bolder tone in their public addresses.

This continued till the year 1380, when Oxford received a new chancellor, selected apparently for the work he was directed to perform. It became clear that the government of the young king had been won over. Certain ambitious churchmen were placed in his household for a specific purpose, and the prelates were encouraged to recommence the persecution.

The reformer, while lecturing in the school of the Augustine Friars at Oxford, was served with an edict from the chancellor, in opposition to certain opinions he had declared on the sacrament, and threatening excommunication to all who should entertain them. Wickliffe expressed his intention to appeal to the king; but ascertaining that court influence was no longer available, he drew up, at considerable length, a confession of his faith, so skilfully put together that he left nothing that his prosecutors could use as the foundation of a charge of heresy.

In the year 1382, Courteney, now archbishop of Canterbury, held a convocation in London, composed of the most learned divines in the country, and found no difficulty in condemning nine propositions of Wickliffe as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous.

The priests about the young king showed their influence in a letter addressed by him to the authorities of the university, directing them to take prompt measures for the suppression of the opinions for which Oxford had become famous. It contained the following passage:—

"And if henceforth you shall find any that shall believe, favour, or defend any of the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be so bold [as] to receive into their houses and innes Master John Wickliffe, Master Nicholas Hertford, Master Philip Reppindon,* or Master John

* In the clever Latin Poem "On the Council of London," some of the leading Reformers are mentioned by name. We can only find room for the concluding verses—

"Post hæc die postera Nichol veniebat,
Et ad tacta singula clare respondebat,
Et Philippus Repyndoun omnia solvebat,
Quæ Petrus apochryphus in scholis tangebat.
With an O and an I postquam sic voluerunt,
Fratres tunc et monachi vultum depresserunt.

Monachi cum fratribus pariter videntes,
Quæ facere poterant versus innocentes,
Pauperum pecuniis loculos replentes,
Quantum possunt properant Londonias currentes.
With an O and I, pro quæstu sanctorum,
Largas dant corrigias de bonis aliorum.

Post hæc simul adeunt metropolitanum,
Nichol Herford asserunt hæreticum profanum,
Et Phylippum Repyndoun proclamant insanum,
Præsulis pecuniis liniantes manum.
With an O and an I, pecuniis placatus,
Quicquid fratres cupiunt, dicit, 'Sum paratus.'

Tunc ipsos episcopus et fratres citabant,
Contra quos cum venerant nihil allegabant,

Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspicion of any the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other like unto them in meaning or in word, or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such favourers, receivers, communicants, and defenders, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, to banish and expel them from the university and town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocence before the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being by manifest purgation."

This was followed by directions to search for and seize heretical books.

It is evident that the canon of Leicester was one of the most eminent of Wickliffe's supporters.* Of this we add a stronger proof. The vice-chancellor

Qui multis injuriis ipsos aggravabant,
Qui visis periculis ad papam appellabant.
With an O and an I, filius et flamen,
Hos cum patre dirigant in agendis. Amen."
Wright, "Political Poems and Songs," i. 262.

* The same poem has been printed by Mr. Brewer, Appendix XI. "Monumenta Franciscana," but without marking the peculiar burthen or *refrain*. This seems to have been a favourite. It is repeated in the curious satire "On the Minorite Friars"—"Political Poems and Songs relating to English History," by Thomas Wright, i. 268—Rolls Publications. The first verse runs thus—

"Of thes Frer Minours me thinkes moch wonder
That waxen are thus hauteyn, that som tyme weren under;
Among men of Holy Chirch thai maken mochel blonder;
Nou he that sytes us above make ham sone to sonder!
With an O and an I, thai praysen not Seynt Poule,
Thai lyen on Seynt Fraunceys, by my fader soule!"

These are the Minorites, or begging friars, more than once referred to in the text. They were specially denounced by the disciples of Wickliffe.

(Rigges), and the two proctors were among the "favourers" of the new opinions. They appointed to preach the customary sermons on two festivals, the Ascension and Corpus Christi, in the cloister of St. Frideswide (Christ Church), the popular Wickliffite preachers Nicholas Hertford and Philip Repingdon. This selection created a sensation among the high church party in Oxford. The citizens they knew would be admitted to the cloisters, and would be sure to hear a warm commendation of the obnoxious Wickliffe, and much sharp abuse of themselves. They therefore flocked to hear the sermon of Hertford. He confined himself to the praise of the reformer as a model of all that was faithful, good, and innocent in man. The friars appear to have contented themselves with making rude interruptions.

They were more apprehensive of the other preacher, and to prevent as much as possible the impression he was likely to make, Brother Peter, a Carmelite, obtained from the primate his condemnation of the Wickliffe conclusions, and in presence of the university denounced them as heretical, a little before the hour appointed for the canon of Leicester to mount the pulpit. Not in any way disconcerted by this *ruse*, Philip Repingdon commenced his sermon to a congregation that thronged every part of the old cloisters. No discourse on Corpus Christi had ever been so attractive, gown and town pressing forward to hear with similar eagerness. The preacher did not disappoint the general expectations; he delivered an extraordinary discourse, part of which must have astonished the friars extremely. This was the bold

argument that popes or bishops ought not to be recommended above temporal lords.* It was heresy with a vengeance! It was bringing the axe down upon the tree of spiritual supremacy, while its branches were throwing so deep a shadow upon Christendom; and he brought it to the base of the towering trunk with a will that promised its being felled in good time. The cowled recluses doubtless stood aghast as they listened to this portion of the thoroughly Wickliffite sermon.

The cloisters of the patron saint of Oxford must have put on a very animated aspect on that Corpus Christi day, for the monks and friars mustered strong, zealous to put down the bold disciple of the detested heresiarch; the chancellor with the collegiate authorities collected their strength, ostensibly to keep the peace; while the students and teachers who favoured the movement flocked in overwhelming numbers, as though determined to support the popular preacher in case of any attempt at interruption. Some, it is said, came with concealed weapons, as if to avenge any insult the friars might offer their favourite; and the annals of many a religious house in the neighbourhood could have assured them that the scholars were dangerous to provoke. The preacher not only dwelt on the merits and virtues of his leader, but dilated on the prospects of preferment to his followers, opened by the patronage of the king's son. He said, "The duke of Lancaster is very earnestly affected and minded in this matter; and would that all such

* That spiritual ought not to be prayed for before temporal peers.

should be received under his protection." The hint was not likely to be lost on those earnest waiters on Providence—divinity students. To get a footing at court would be tantamount to a good status in the Church; the king's chaplain had more than once been elevated to the dignity of cardinal. Some apparently became zealous Wickliffites on the spot.

The preacher then proceeded to the other branch of his discourse, and having announced that in moral matters he was ready to defend Master Wickliffe as a true Catholic doctor, he became so eloquent in commendation, as well as in defence of the reformer, that both scholars and citizens must have been gratified beyond measure. He avoided reference to subjects that were too holy for discussion, satisfying himself, at the conclusion of his discourse, by saying to the people, "I will, in the speculative doctrine as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keep silence and hold my peace until such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illumine the hearts of the clergy."

A disturbance had been anticipated, but the anti-Wickliffites dared not molest the preacher. The busy Carmelite slunk away when he found that his *ruse* had produced no effect. Repingdon, after he had concluded his sermon, was escorted into the church by a large company; presently the vice-chancellor saluted him in the porch, and then dismissed the congregation to their homes.

The effect produced by the canon of Leicester, particularly among the scholars and divinity students, exasperated the ultra-montane party; and Brother Peter, the Carmelite, did everything in his

power to induce the archbishop to punish. His example brought forward Henry Crompe, a Cistercian, as well as a regent in divinity, who was suspended for too prominently exhibiting his zeal; but he went to London, and appealed to the government with such effect that a letter was written in the name of the king to the vice-chancellor and proctors, setting aside this sentence, and restoring him to his "accustomed lectures and scholastic acts." Moreover, the authorities were restrained from molesting the Carmelites who had been most active in their proceedings against Wickliffe, Hertford, and Repingdon.*

The clamour in the university increased when the friars found themselves thus powerfully supported. No part of the recent discourse had excited their hostility so greatly as the bold opinion preached by Repingdon to the people, that in prayer the dignitaries of the Church were not to have precedence of temporal princes and peers,† and the schools were

* "The true sources of our civil wars in the fifteenth century," observes a modern historical scholar, "are to be found rather in the teaching of Wickliffe and his followers than the rival claims of Yorkist or Lancastrian." This may be true to a certain extent, but we cannot accept the rest of the sentence, "and Wickliffe is the genuine descendant of the friars, turning their wisdom against themselves, and carrying out the principles he had learnt from them, to their legitimate political conclusion."—(Brewer, Preface to "Monumenta Franciscana," lix. 1858.) From such recluses as Roger Bacon the reformer may have learnt much, but from the mendicant orders, Wickliffe's contemporaries, the object of his constant attacks, he could have learned little or nothing.

† Contrast this idea, openly discussed at the principal English university by Catholic priests in the last half of the fourteenth century, with the custom insisted on, five centuries later, by professors of the same faith, of drinking the Pope's health at public

besieged by the zealous supporters of the superior claims of the Pope, cardinals, and prelates of the Church.

That the doctrines preached by Wickliffe and Repingdon were very popular at the university is evident from the statement of the chancellor that he dared not put in operation the archbishop's commands for their suppression. The seculars were against any severe measures, and encouraged the attacks upon the friars. Nevertheless, the power brought to bear against the directors of this reformation was of a nature they could not hope to resist. What affected them most deeply was an unexpected change in the conduct of their patron, John of Gaunt. The ultra-churchmen got round him, and appear to have alarmed him by their representations of the dangers likely to arise if a stop were not put to the Oxford heresy; so that when Philip Repingdon and Nicholas Hertford waited upon him to request his protection, he turned sharp upon his old friends, calling them improper names, and offering to refute their opinions himself.*

So violent a persecution now commenced against the Wickliffites, that, warned by the friendly vice-chancellor, Hertford and Repingdon fled and concealed themselves. They were excommunicated by the archbishop (Courteney) and the bishop of London (Braybrooke), and directions sent to the vice-chancellor that diligent search and watch

festivals before that of the sovereign, under whose mild rule they enjoy, among other valuable privileges, that of forgetting their loyalty, their gallantry, and their patriotism.

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 508.

should be laid for them in Oxford and London, that they might be apprehended. The vice-chancellor replied that, after much search, neither could be found, and that he knew nothing of their whereabouts.

A few months later, Philip Repingdon voluntarily appeared before the primate, whom he so thoroughly satisfied, that he was restored to his scholastic functions. He went back to Oxford; but the friendly vice-chancellor had been displaced, and at a convocation held in the university a few days before his arrival (October 15), rigorous measures had been taken for the suppression of heresy, including "cursing and banning." Having had a private communication with the archbishop, Repingdon seems to have been so convinced of his errors that in the presence of the primate, prelates, and clergy assembled in convocation in the chapter-house of the very church in the cloisters of which he had preached his memorable sermon, he made his abjuration in the following form:—

"In Dei nomine, amen.—I, Philip Repingdon, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one Catholic and apostolic faith, do curse and also abjure all heresy; namely these heresies and errors underwritten, condemned and reproved by the decrees canonical, and by you, most reverend father, touching which hitherto I have been defamed: condemning, moreover, and reproving both them and the authors of them, and do confess the same to be catholically condemned. And I swear also by these Holy Evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and do pro-

mise never by any persuasions of men, nor by any way hereafter to defend or hold as true any of the said conclusions underwritten; but do and will stand and adhere in all things to the determination of the holy Catholic Church, and to yours in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as stand contrary to this faith, I do pronounce them, with their doctrine and followers, worthy of everlasting curse. And if I myself shall presume at any time to hold or preach anything contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canons.

"Subscribed with mine own hand and with mine own accord. "PHILIP REPINGDON."*

The persecution against the supporters of Wickliffe would have been equally severe against himself, had he not followed prudent advice and remained quietly in his parsonage. Urban VI. cited him to appear at Rome; but he was afflicted with paralysis, which in his reply to the papal mandate he gave as an excuse for not respecting it. He does not appear to have been in any way molested in his retreat, and died at Lutterworth, about the commencement of the year 1384.

There can be no doubt that his writings increased in popularity. The ideas they contained were produced and reproduced, till the public mind became so full of them that not the friars only but the ultramontane portion of the English hierarchy were eager to commence a new and fierce persecution.

* Fox, "Acts and Monuments." John Ashton, student of divinity, made his abjuration in the same form, but probably resumed his preaching; for, subsequently, Archbishop Arundel cited him to his court and imprisoned him.

In Henry of Bolingbroke they found a willing agent, and his government readily lent itself to the policy of the court of Rome.

It was shortly ascertained what inducement had been used with Philip Repingdon to secure his recantation. He was appointed abbot of Leicester, and a few years later (1400) elevated to the dignity of chancellor of Oxford. As soon as he had been invested with this authority, he made the university distinguished by the severity of his persecutions against all persons to be found there who professed the opinions he had preached so boldly in the cloisters of St. Frideswide, and had taught so confidently in the university schools. Nevertheless there were many priests still actively engaged in the dissemination of these opinions, and many laymen of eminence by whom they were favoured. Of the former, by far the most distinguished was Pecock, bishop of St. Asaph; of the latter, the earl of Salisbury; while among the humble classes, especially in London, they spread with extraordinary rapidity.

The alarm created in the minds of orthodox churchmen by the diffusion of these new doctrines, is clearly evinced by the care they took to stifle them. Archbishop Arundel, roused by representations, remonstrances, and commands that came from the papal court, exerted himself among his suffragans to produce a combined resistance. The Anglican Church was still a dominant power in the State, and a vigorous action, with the co-operation of the government, might suppress the dangerous heresy.

Oxford was still the centre and seat of the movement. In the university, several of the ablest of her scholars and most gifted of her priests secretly taught the obnoxious opinions. Foreign students in the colleges were known also to have accepted them, and it was feared that they might return to their homes, and create new centres for their diffusion.

The extent to which the pre-Lutheran reformation had spread in England soon after the death of its chief promoter, may be judged from the assertion of a contemporary chronicler that every second man he met was a follower of Wickliffe.* In the court it had found many zealous friends; in the royal family the "Fair Maid of Kent," the widow of the Black Prince; the "good Queen Ann," the widow of Richard II.; and secretly "the good Duke Humphrey," all popular with the nation, apparently in consequence of their sympathy with the popular movement, had adopted the new religion: there were also several peers, and numerous knights, by whom it was professed. To these were joined several of the clergy, the most prominent of whom was an Augustinian monk, Peter Pattishill, one of the Pope's chaplains.†

Repingdon continued to distinguish himself as a persecutor of his former associates.

Clerical turncoats were not regarded then with more respect than has from time immemorial been given to other partisans who abandon one cause for another from motives of interest; but in this

* Knighton.

† Lewis, "Life of Wyckliffe," 242. Walsingham.

instance it was so flagrant a case of bribery, that the deserter drew upon himself no small amount of popular odium. Among the Lollards, he was nicknamed "Rumpingdon." Such contemptuous treatment from his old friends made him more anxious to win the good opinion of his new ones, and he succeeded in giving the most convincing proofs of orthodoxy and zeal to his archbishop and the papal court. It was only the persecuted reformers who complained of him, and that was with his superiors his best recommendation.

Such as were steadfast in their faith did not spare the apostate when, while under persecution, they were reminded of his conversion, and the solid advantages it had brought him. William Thorpe, a more earnest-minded professor of the new religion, was sent for by the chancellor, Archbishop Arundel, in 1407, to his court, to undergo a searching examination as to his religious opinions. There ensued a very long controversy, and, except that the primate showed himself a little too fond of calling names, the prisoner had not much to complain of. When reminded of the examples of those of his co-religionists who had been persuaded to recant, he replied—

"For the slanderous revoking at the crosse of Paul's of H.P. and of B., and how now Philip *Rumpington* pursueth Christ's people; and, the faining that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching and communion within the bonds and tearmes (which without blame may be spoken and showed out as the most worldly livers) will not bee un-

punished of God. For to the point of truth that these men showed out sometimes, they will not now stretch forth their lives. But by example, each one of them as their words and their works show, busie them through their faining for to slander, and to pursue Christ in his members, rather than they will be pursued."

"And the archbishop said to me, 'These men the which thou speakest of now, were fools and heretikes, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other deeme them unwise. Neverthelesse I wish never none that right said that any while were envenomed with your contagiousnesse, that is contaminated and spotted doctrine.'"*

The remarkable tract from which this passage is quoted contains other important references to the subject of this memoir, and is otherwise so singularly illustrative of the great reactionary movement in which he was interested as partisan and represser, that we must venture on another extract:—

"And I said, 'Sir, Master John Wickliffe was holden of full many men the greatest clerke that they knew then living; and therewith hee was named a passing rulie man, and an innocent in his living; and herefore great men communed oft with him, and they loved so his learning that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore, sir, this foresaid learning of Master John Wickliffe is yet holden of full many men and women the

* Examination of William Thorpe. Reprinted in Dr. Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," i. 262.

most agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Christ and his apostles, and most openly showing and declaring how the Church of Christ hath been and yet should bee ruled and governed. Therefore, as many men and women covet this learning, and purpose through God's grace to conform their living like to this learning of Wickliffe. Master John Ashton taught and writ accordingly and full busily where and when and to whom that he might, and he used it himself right perfectly unto his lives end. And also Philip of *Rumpington*, while he was a canon of Leicester, Nicolas Hertford, Davie Gotraie of Pakring, monke of Byland and a master of divinitie, and John Purnay, and many other, which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busilie this foresaid learning, and comported them thereto.

"And with all these men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willinglie to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or know. And therefore of him speciallie and of these men I tooke the learning that I have taught, and propose to live thereafter (if God will) unto my lives end. For though some of these men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught; and therefore, with the helpe of God, I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moses chaire, and specially while that they sat on the chaire of Christ. But after the works that they now do I will not do,

with God's helpe. For they fain and hide and contrarie the truth, which before they taught out plainely and truly. For as I know well, when some of these men have been blamed for their slanderous doing, they grant not that they taught amisse, or erred before time; but that they were constrained by paine to leave to tell out the sooth, and that they chuse now rather to blaspheme God than to suffer a while here persecution bodily for soothfastnesse that Christ shed out his heart blood for.

"And the archbishop said, 'That learning that thou callest truth and soothfastnesse, is open slander to Holy Church, as it is proved of Holy Church. For albeit that Wickliffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liver, yet his doctrine is not approved of Holy Church, but many sentences of his learning are damned, as they well worthie are. But as touching Philip of Rumpington, that was first canon and after abbot of Leicester, which is now bishop of Lincolne, I tell thee that the day is commen for which he fasted the even. For neither hee holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that hee taught when hee was a canon of Leicester. For no bishop of the land pursueth now more sharply them that hold thy way, than he doth.'

"And I said, 'Sir, full many men and women wondereth upon him, and speaketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.'"

The discussion continued, which, though not conducted with logical precision by Thorpe, was unquestionably to the disadvantage of his opponent. Nothing, however, is more clear than that the arch-

bishop said everything in his power to induce a retractation. With the exception of the signs of impatience to which we have referred, natural in the position of a man possessed of almost boundless authority sitting as judge on an offender who questioned it in all his answers, Thorpe was treated with a degree of forbearance that betrays the reluctance of the judge to proceed to extremities.

The fact is, so great was the popular excitement at this period respecting the new doctrine, the prudent chancellor was convinced that he must proceed warily. Violent persecution would be likely to increase still further the ill feeling that existed against the old religion. Extermination might have been effectual with the Waldenses and a dozen other sects; but the primate seems to have doubted its policy in England. It should be remembered, that this examination was carried on with closed doors. No one was suffered to hear the argument but two lawyers and a physician. The policy of preventing publicity to the opinions of the reformers was rigidly maintained, and the silencing their favourite preachers was an essential part of it.

It was in vain that the archbishop advocated the abuses most complained of; his prisoner attacked them with a spirit that drove the discomfited judge to the bad resource of calling him "losell" and idiot, and threatening severe punishment. It was equally in vain that the clerks and the physician referred to the comfort enjoyed by Philip Repingdon and the other converts since they had abandoned their opinions, and advised him to follow their example. The reformer stood out stoutly. Upon which his

judge appears to have lost temper, and swore at him, and threatened him most unbecomingly. Then other zealots were admitted, who abused the defenceless prisoner, and recommended his being burnt or drowned. Nevertheless, this not intimidating him, another attempt was made at persuasion, with equal ill success.

And when there remaining no hope of subduing his spirit, the stout-hearted reformer was sent back to a loathsome dungeon, and never heard of again.*

In the year 1408 the primate issued further restrictions at Oxford, in the shape of "constitutions" prohibiting the preaching of any doctrine contrary to the teaching of the Church, and permitting no calling in question its decisions, on pain of excommunication and due penance for the first offence, and for the second incurring the pains and penalties due to a declared heretic. No one was to read the works of Wickliffe or those of any of his associates, unless they had been approved by the university authorities, on pain of being treated as a promoter of schism; and any one advancing propositions or conclusions in the schools, tending to subvert the Catholic faith, would draw upon himself the greater excommunication, unless he confessed and retracted his errors.†

The popularity of the new opinions among the scholars is shown by another of these enactments, which directed the master of every college to inquire

* This "Examination of William Thorpe" was subsequently published by Tindal from the author's MS. Sir Thomas More states that the first editor was George Constantine.

† Gibson, "Codex."

monthly whether any of its members was reputed to have accepted them; then the presumed Lollard was to be admonished, and if found obstinate, punished and expelled; such heads of colleges as ventured to betray negligence in this matter were to be deprived and treated as heretics. Moreover it was ordained that no passage of Scripture should be translated or issued as a tract in the name of Wickliffe, or that of any of his abettors or followers, unless such translation should be approved by the authorities.

These constitutions did not produce the desired effect, partly because of the antagonistic impression created in the popular mind by the oppressions of the Roman Church, partly by the notorious corruption among the clergy generally, and partly in consequence of the extent and zeal of the principal reformers.

In the same year Repingdon was appointed by the Pope to the see of Lincoln. This was not readily sanctioned at home, as it was in violation of the statutes. There was a fierce controversy raging at Oxford respecting the privileges of the university. There was also much discussion still going on respecting the doctrines of Wickliffe.

Political excitement added its impulse to religious enthusiasm when it was discovered that the Anglican hierarchy were exciting their new king, Henry IV., whom many regarded as a usurper, to coercive measures against the promoters of the reformation, and a rash insurrection was the result. The earls of Kent and Salisbury, with six knights, were beheaded and quartered after their defeat at

Cirencester, and to identify the Church with the State, eighteen bishops and thirty abbots thronged to the procession which accompanied their remains through the streets of London. It was regarded as a triumph of orthodoxy and loyalty, while the defeated "Lollards," as they were ignominiously called, were branded as traitors and heretics. The grateful king declared his determination to maintain the Catholic faith, and the now servile legislature passed the statute *de hæretico comburendo*. William Sawtree, a London priest, was its first victim.

Repingdon must have been held in very high estimation by the court of Rome, or else they were desirous of showing the preachers of the new opinions in England what extraordinary advantages might be gained by returning to their fidelity. Gregory XII. included him in his second creation of cardinals in 1408, with the title of Cardinal Priest of SS. Nereo and Achilles.*

By accepting this dignity, he brought himself within the operation of the statute passed against the acceptance of papal offices by Englishmen; but though he left England, he does not appear to have resigned his see till six years later.

* Cardella, ii. 348. Ciaconius, ii. 1071. "Robertum Rugg, Oxoniensis Academiæ Cancellarium, et Thomam Brightwell, Theologiæ Doctorem cum Wicklevianis sentientes, ad palinodiam protinus adegit. Nicolaum vere Hereford et Philippum Repingdon Theologiæ etiam Doctores, ac Joannem Ashton, Artium Magistrum, cum à sententia nollent dimoveri, hæreticos pronunciatos excommunicavit; qui tamen postea coacti sunt juramento Wicklevianis dogmatibus renunciare. Ex his Repingdonus Episcopus postea Lincolniensis et Cardinalis etiam creatus est."—Godwin, fol. 120.

It was in the year 1413, the first of Henry V., that the bishop announced his intention of visiting Oxford as an inquisitor. His character must have made the university fear that extraordinary measures would be employed to display his zeal for the cause he had embraced; nevertheless, eighty professors and scholars held a meeting, and wrote him a letter promising obedience. There seems to be no record of his having made the promised visitation.

As churchmen filled the highest places in the king's council, Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, John Kemp, bishop of London, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, John Wakering, bishop of Norwich, Philip Morgan, bishop of Worcester, and Nicolas Bubwik, bishop of Bath and Wells, they governed the kingdom of Henry V. as they pleased. Seeing their strength, they determined to use it for the suppression of the new opinions. The council of Constance inflamed their bigotry by ordering the bones of Wickliffe, that had rested in the grave for forty-one years, to be disinterred, and Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln (1428), in whose diocese was the parish church of Lutterworth, sent his officers to dig up his remains, burn them to ashes, and cast them into a neighbouring stream.

Cardinal Repingdon was sent to the council of Pisa by Pope Gregory; but apparently he never figured very prominently as a Prince of the Church. The Pope had paid a high price for his conversion, but did not profit by it to the anticipated extent.

The Lollard movement was presently renewed in a totally different quarter.

The odium directed against Cardinal Repingdon in Oxford was lessened by his noble foundation of Lincoln College.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH OPINION IN BOHEMIA.

Protests against the Papal System—Sense of True Christianity—Opinions of the English Reformer popular in the University of Prague—John Huss the Rector—preaches the Doctrines of Wickliffe—Persecution—Huss summoned to Rome—the Books of Wickliffe burned—Conflict of the High Church Party and the Reformers—Huss assails the Pope—Alarm of his Friends—Doctrines of the English Reformer condemned—Huss excommunicated and sentenced to be burnt—Council of Constance—Their Hostility—Huss seized and imprisoned—Remonstrance of his Friends—Increased Severity of his Treatment—His Health affected—brought before the Council—Their Conduct to the Prisoner—His Defence and Condemnation—He is burnt at the stake—Jerome of Prague—He is seized and brought before the Council—Cruelty of his Treatment—His Eloquent Defence and Death—Crusade preached against the Hussites—its Failure—War of Extermination.

HAVING thus far traced the influence of English intelligence upon the Papacy, it becomes imperative to show its connection with the great movement which in a succeeding generation produced what is usually styled "The Reformation." In reply to the question said to have been put by a Roman controversialist to a Protestant, "Where was your religion before Luther?" it was only necessary to have called attention to the undeniable fact that it was at Canterbury, at Oxford, and at

Prague. Still earlier, it existed in the Gospels. Public opinion had been protesting against the Roman dogmas with marked effect in the twelfth century in the favour shown to the discourses of Arnold of Brescia; but it demanded increased energy, talent, and courage to give such protests stability in England.

We have already shown how strong was the religious reaction that Wickliffe created at Oxford, and the extent to which it diffused itself over England; but the tide had extended far beyond the island, and threatened to sweep over the German continent. Its influence had been profoundly felt in the inland provinces, notwithstanding the strong papal bulwarks of the universities and episcopal cities. During the fourteenth century the lives of many of the priesthood had exhibited such glaring anti-scriptural features, that even ordinary observers could not avoid noticing the difference between clerical profession and practice. A sense of true Christianity was arising wherever virtue was combined with intelligence. The arguments of the English reformer caused the awakening of a religious spirit in the fields as well as in the schools; and among the better disposed of the rural and scholastic communities there were signs of a revival of gospel teaching and example.

Doubtless there flourished many churchmen who were estimable preachers, admirable scholars, and enlightened theologians; but the mass of the priesthood, regular and irregular, had become more deeply tainted than ever with those twin vices of the cloister—indolence and sensuality, and there was

generally a considerable portion of their flocks who turned away from such pastors, looking for apostolic shepherds, and yearning for evangelical truth.

Prague formed the head-quarters of the Roman Catholic dominion in Bohemia, but, despite of the orthodoxy maintained by the Germans at the university, several of its students had made themselves acquainted with Wickliffe's doctrines, and had experienced a desire to assist in a reform of the Church based on their suggestions. Amongst them were a few professors, and their leader was John Huss, who had for some time been a pupil in the liberal school of Stanislaus of Znaim. Under Huss there was established a small community of the faithful, with a chapel called "Bethlehem," wherein he preached in so stirring a strain as to produce a lasting and profound impression. Gaining confidence with the increase of his congregation, he attacked the extravagant display which formed so prominent a feature in Catholic worship; showing that while such excessive attention was paid to externals, the conduct of the professed Christian was permitted to be scandalously immoral. His archbishop appears to have at first favoured this teaching, and as a mark of his confidence employed the popular preacher to inquire into and expose a pretended miraculous conversion of the sacramental bread into Christ's blood,* a source of immense superstitious reverence.

* A minute red fungus had covered the consecrated wafer; this, by the ignorant, was regarded as a miracle, and pilgrimages in its honour were frequent. See the account of the Welsnack miracle in Neander, vol. ix.

His chapel was always crowded, the queen and her ladies being invariably present, besides a large assemblage of respectable females, who devoted themselves to a religious life under the since familiar name of "Beguines;" the industrious classes swelled the ranks of his followers, and sometimes were imprudent as well as zealous. Three mechanics, after attending a sermon in Bethlehem Chapel, came upon some priests selling indulgences, when one denounced the false statements the latter were making to sell their wares. The men were seized, carried before the council, condemned, and put to death, though a promise was made to John Huss, who had promptly come forward in their behalf, that their lives should be spared.

They were regarded as martyrs by the people of Prague, who accorded them a public funeral, and the influence of the English heresy for which they had died increased a thousand-fold.

The Wickliffe principles were at last so boldly maintained that the archbishop became alarmed, and withdrew his support. Prague, however, had been awakened, and was stirring Bohemia. The unfortunate Richard II. of England had married the child princess, known in history as Anne of Bohemia. She was the sister of the reigning king Wenceslaus. John Huss for more than twenty years openly read and taught the new doctrines at the university; to such purpose that the young queen of England read the New Testament, and carried with her to this country a triplicate version in the Latin, German, and Bohemian languages. A reciprocity of sentiment was manifested by the appearance of several

English divinity students at Prague,* one of whom came furnished with a testimonial of Wickliffe's orthodoxy, under the seal of the university of Oxford, which was afterwards said to be a forgery.† During his popularity there could, however, have been no difficulty in his obtaining such a document.

The movement in Prague unquestionably had its impulse from Oxford. At last this became so general that the archbishop and the principal clergy found it imperative to cause an inquiry into the doctrines of Wickliffe (May 28, 1403). They were, of course, condemned. The investigation was followed three years later by a synod, held in the university, that published an ordinance threatening severe punishment to those who preached such heresies. The tide of opinion had swept up to Rome, and the papal alarm had caused these strong measures to be employed in Bohemia to push it back.‡

Violent antagonism was now created between the hierarchy and the reformers, but the Church was not in a position to put forth its authority. A pope and anti-pope, with the cardinals at last averse to both, appear to have tied the hands of the papal court till the council of Pisa disposed of the two popes; subsequently the council of Constance endeavoured as summarily to dispose of Huss and the Wickliffe heresy.

* Palacky, "Hist. Bohem.," iii. 216.

† Wood, "Hist. and Ant. Un. Oxford," i. 203.

‡ Innocent VII. published a bull addressed to the archbishop of Prague, directing him to suppress the heresy and punish its professors.—"Bullarium Romanum a S. Leone primo ad nostra usque tempora Pio IX., &c., Chron. Univers. Prag."—Palacky, iii. 214.

Huss was supported by strong court influence, English and Bohemian; but his appointment by the king as rector of the university, and the royal edict, by which the students in Prague were divided into nations, and all foreigners included in one, while the Bohemians had the other three, gave such offence to the Germans that they quitted the city in a body. Such a loss brought odium on Huss, through the influence of the archbishop and the prelates; but their animosity was neutralized by the support of Wenceslaus. The reformer's exposures of clerical delinquencies became more startling, and the priests more violent in their denunciations. The rector had treated the prelates without ceremony, and now attacked the cardinals with the same uncompromising spirit.

The entire priesthood were now roused, and determined to put him down. They brought complaints against him before the archbishop, when the bold reformer forwarded one to the Pope against the primate. This caused him to be summoned to Rome, 14th of December, 1409. There the influence of the archbishop shortly became conspicuous; but an assemblage of the very persons who had been attacked by Huss in his sermons could not fail of being vindictive. Alexander V. (Cardinal Villargi) issued a bull, 9th of March, 1410, condemning the Prague reformation, insisting on the writings of Wickliffe being given up, and closing Huss's mouth and his chapel.* The archbishop pursued his advantage, though the reformer was supported by the

* Raynaldi, "Annales Ecclesiast.," xvii. 396. "Bullarium Romanum a S. Leone primo," &c.

university and the king. He collected the works of the English theologian to the extent of two hundred volumes, and made a bonfire of them near his palace (10th July, 1410). This senseless outrage created great excitement, not only in the university, but throughout the kingdom: the primate gained nothing by the act but ridicule. No harm was done to the fame of Wickliffe, and it rather increased the popularity of Huss.

Alexander V. made way for John XXIII. The popular disciple of Wickliffe knew nothing of the character of this Pontiff, and ventured to appeal to him against the arbitrary and foolish proceedings of the archbishop of Prague. The new Pope evidently felt that he had been included in the censure the Bohemian preacher had pronounced against the cardinals, and was for crushing the audacious rector at a blow. The affair was handed over to Cardinal Otho, who lost no time in confirming the sentence already passed, and summoned Huss to appear at Bologna—probably to receive a disgraceful punishment.

This proceeding again excited a strong feeling in his favour, especially among his powerful friends at court. Queen Sophia, to whom he had been appointed confessor, employed all her influence to protect him, while the king wrote in his favour both to the Pope* and the Sacred College.†

Such interposition, supported as it was by able agents on the part of Wenceslaus, was not to be lightly set aside by the governing power at Bologna, and though Cardinal Colonna had pronounced sen-

* Palacky, "Hist. Bohemia," iii. 258.

† Pelzel, "Urkundenbuch," No. 221.

tence of excommunication—February, 1411, against him for contumacy, the Pope appointed a new commission of inquiry, with Cardinal Zabarella, a liberal Florentine, at its head. Archbishop Zbyneck, however, seems to have known the court at Bologna better than the royal family of Bohemia. He sent presents to an enormous amount to the Pontiff and cardinals. They kept the case undecided for a year and a half. It had been left to the care of Cardinal Brancas,* who presently punished the assailant of the Sacred College, calling him a heresiarch, and giving additional severity to the original sentence.†

A desperate conflict for the mastery now broke out between the partisans of the triumphant metropolitan and those of the persecuted rector. He was so strongly supported by the laity, that it became a struggle between the ecclesiastical and the secular power. The archbishop found at last that he was not strong enough to put down his opponent, supported by the king, the nobility, and the people. Prague had been laid under interdict, which naturally made the citizens take part in the quarrel. Finding the Roman court and Pope John every day becoming more odious by their vices, Archbishop Zbyneck thought it prudent to come to a compromise. He sent to Rome urgent entreaties for the removal of the penalties, assuring the Pope that there were no heresies in Bohemia. Huss, who was always placable, in the same year 1411, drew up a confession of faith, which was forwarded to Rome. The primate, however, presently showed signs of

* Palacky, iii. 264. † Huss, "Opp.," i. 332.

departing from his agreement; but as he was arranging a fresh conflict, he was overtaken by death.

Huss had sufficiently vindicated the doctrines of Wickliffe, but it was not long before the quarrel entered upon another phase. Pope John XXIII. had issued a bull for a crusade against King Ladislaus of Naples, who had offended him; and another for the sale of indulgences to support the war.* The reformer who had attacked cardinals, was not to be restrained from higher game. He exposed the pernicious system of traffic, and assailed the worthless Pontiff who encouraged it, more violently than he had done his licentious council. The friends who had hitherto encouraged him, now drew off in alarm at his audacity; two of his clerical colleagues went over to the enemy, and what was more prejudicial to his interests, the king not only withdrew his support, but became a decided opponent. Wenceslaus would not allow the Pope to be insulted. Some of Huss's followers had performed a burlesque on the archbishop's burning the Wickliffe books; they had made a bonfire of the bull and the indulgences; and there had been a tumultuous procession, in which women of loose character carried the papal documents. The king had become afraid of this spirit of retaliation, as if doubtful where it would stop.

* This pope (Cardinal Balthazar Cossa), among other enormities attributed to him, is reputed to have poisoned his predecessor, Alexander V., who died suddenly at Bologna in the previous year. Such a disgrace to the Papacy gave the Bohemian reformers ample scope for invective; but the necessity of a reformation was generally acknowledged—it became the subject of a treatise by Cardinal D'Ailly, "De Necessitate Reformationis," and had been the avowed object of the deliberations of the Council of Pisa.—See Neander, ix.

The persecuting power had commenced, but in its turn grew alarmed by the commotion it created. The churchmen proceeded with less violence. A jury of eight doctors condemned forty-five articles they found in the writings of Wickliffe, and prayed the king for an edict to silence his apostle. Huss was now summoned before the Privy Council, but they could not settle the dispute. In Rome the disposition of the court was more hostile to the rector, and Cardinal de St. Angelo was directed to proceed against him with greater severity. He was again excommunicated, and sentenced to be burnt as a heretic, and his chapel razed to the ground; the university was also placed under interdict—a sentence they found it difficult to execute. Nevertheless the interdict was observed by the priests, and Huss forced to leave the city. A synod was held at Prague, 6th February, 1413, to arrange the dispute; but the party of the hierarchy lost ground in it, from over anxiety to press their opponents.

Huss had retired to a castle belonging to one of his powerful friends, a more determined Wickliffite than ever. Here he wrote "De Ecclesia," in which he followed up his attack upon unworthy priests, and gave an account of the late proceedings against him, which thoroughly exasperated the cardinals, whom he again accused of corruption and unholy living. Nor was the Pope treated with more ceremony; in truth he was not worthy of any consideration, his life being a disgrace to the Church.

It became evident at Rome that a still more powerful effort must be made to destroy the reformer, and a general council was called at Con-

stance. The members came with a determination to crush the English heresy, by the annihilation of its spirited advocate. The emperor Sigismund having promised Huss a safe-conduct, and he having secured certificates from the archbishop and the papal inquisitor, the bishop of Nazareth, that there was nothing heretical in his teaching, proceeded to the council, October 10, 1414.

His progress showed the wide diffusion of the English doctrine, and the general desire for a reformation of the Church. He was most favourably received everywhere, discoursed freely with every class, and was by all his hearers recognized as a faithful expounder of gospel truth. The aspect of affairs changed on his arrival at Constance, on the 3rd of November; here his enemies had been busy against him amongst an assembly, whose hostility had been increased by the report of his popularity during his journey. Nevertheless, some tried to tamper with him to secure a recantation. He demanded a public hearing, which was what his opponents wanted to avoid, apprehensive of the impression he might make. To prevent it, they caused him to be seized and kept a close prisoner. The Pope and the cardinals insisted on his appearing before them. Their object now became so clear, that one of the prisoner's friends, John ot Chlum, of knightly rank, sought the Pontiff, and boldly reproached him for his disregard of the Emperor's safe-conduct. John XXIII. laid the blame on the cardinals.

The feeling with which Huss was regarded by the Princes of the Church was made still more intelli-

gible by further persecutions, till at last he was thrust into a narrow stinking dungeon. The brave knight of Chlum appealed to the Emperor, and Sigismund threatened to break open the prison doors. On the 24th, the knight, in the name of the Emperor, posted in the public places a declaration of the Pope's falsehood and treachery; but bad as was this pontiff's nature, there were other persons still more to blame. The Emperor was equally insincere, and the cardinals were vindictive. They had the penetration to see that if they failed in stamping out these English opinions, such "firebrands" might destroy the system on which they had flourished. The destruction of Wickliffe's Bohemian apostle in their eyes therefore became a necessity. They coerced Sigismund, who apparently left the reformer to his fate.

Confinement in fetters in a pestilential prison, produced a serious effect upon his health, after eight weeks of incarceration; but his relentless enemies refused to hear his case, unless he paid two thousand ducats. He denounced this extortion in a letter to one of his friends. He also wrote severe comments on the council; and they got possession of the note.

The Emperor quitted Constance, as if not to be compromised in the miserable business about to be transacted, and the Pope followed his example. As the papal officers were ordered to meet him at Schaffhausen, it was hoped that a change might be effected for the prisoner. A change was effected. The Emperor having been again appealed to by his friends, Huss was removed in chains to a tower in the

castle of Gottleben, chained to a post, and treated with additional rigour. This increased his indisposition.

Possibly his enemies anticipated that his spirit would succumb under such treatment. They never had been in any hurry to dispose of his case, and on the 6th of the following April it was found necessary to appoint a new commission, the cardinals D'Ailly and St. Marie, the bishop of Dola, and a Cistercian abbot, all of whom had prejudged it. His friends, however, so pertinaciously insisted on his having more favourable treatment as well as a fair hearing, that in June he was transferred to a Franciscan convent. The commission now began to stir; but evincing too great an eagerness to condemn unheard, the Emperor had immediate notice, and much to his credit interposed to obtain some appearance of justice. It is to be regretted that he did not insist on a fair trial.

The prisoner was at last brought before the council; but directly he opened his mouth to defend himself, no doubt according to pre-arrangement, such a clamour arose that he was forced to remain silent. The conduct of his judges was so glaringly disgraceful that it shamed the men of moderate opinions who were present. When Huss had been obliged to stop, his enemies eagerly announced that his silence was a confession of his guilt. Such confusion now manifested itself that the meeting was dissolved. A second *hearing* was deferred till the 7th, when the Emperor thought proper to be present.*

Cardinal d'Ailly commenced the proceedings with

* "Historia Hussi."

an argument that sought to prove Huss guilty of holding heretical ideas respecting transubstantiation. The prisoner defended himself with such force that the same kind of tumult which had stopped him before was repeated. Several Englishmen took a prominent part in the dispute. The bold reformer answered all objections so rationally, the Emperor insisted that the unseemly clamour should be stopped—and shamed the offenders by his mild reproaches. One of the Englishmen interposed to put a stop to what had become a general wrangle about terms, and gave his opinion that the prisoner, having asserted that he acknowledged transubstantiation, ought to be believed.*

The cardinals, however, were not so easily shamed. Zabarella insisted that the numerous witnesses who swore to his heretical teaching ought to overpower his single testimony. Then came a discussion on the errors of Wickliffe, which the prisoner was accused of teaching; but he defended his opposition to the condemnation of the forty-five articles, against the cardinal and against an English archbishop, and defended Wickliffe with such manliness that the turbulent partisans were obliged to have recourse to ridicule to conceal their discomfiture.

Their next move was to insinuate disloyalty in the presence of the Emperor; but the bold knight of Chlum so courageously endorsed the statement complained of, that the cardinals contented themselves with advising the prisoner to submit to the

* Quorsum hæc de universalibus disputatio, quæ ad fidem nihil facit? Ipse quantum audio recte sentit de sacramento altaris," &c. —Huss, "Opp.," 12.

sentence of the council. This advice the Emperor repeated, promising that the accused should be let off with only a slight punishment if he ceased to be obstinate. After defending himself from the charge of obstinacy, Huss was conducted back to his prison.

He went before the council for the third time on the 8th, when accusations were brought against him founded on his work "De Ecclesia." Cardinal d'Ailly pressed him hard on opinions there expressed, and he was laughed at by the more zealous prelates, till at last the cardinals again advised submission, and again promised a light penalty. When Huss offered to submit to better reasons than his own, his opponents caught at the opening. They announced that sixty doctors who had gone away had agreed, and the council had also agreed, that he must acknowledge his errors, and take an oath to teach them no longer. Many voices echoed this opinion. Huss protested against being forced to take an oath in violation of his conscientious convictions. Then the Emperor recommended him to abjure, and Cardinal Zabarella promised that a particularly mild form of recantation should be prepared for him. Again the Emperor tried to persuade, and again and again the leading prelates strove to force him into an abjuration; but the reformer continued true to himself and to Wickliffe. He was led back to his prison, still in chains.* They could bind his limbs, but failed to fetter his soul.

* Neander, "Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche," ix.

After his departure the Emperor addressed the council in a speech that left no doubt of his predilections, advising that every effort should be made to suppress the reform doctrines, but suggesting that Huss should be restored to liberty. The council had prepared their sentence—of this both Emperor and cardinals were fully aware; and it had been contrived, if he recanted, that he should be stripped of everything but his life. We are therefore enabled to judge the value of the propositions for a recantation made to him by those who had failed in convicting him of error.

Huss lay in his cell expecting death, but writing consolation to his friends. A last application was made to him, offering the mild form of recantation already promised, and some humane intercession attempted to obtain the much-desired confession and submission. An Englishman was among the kindly-disposed visitors who urged arguments and persuasions to induce him to save his life; but the reformer possessed a spirit such as Christianity had not produced since its first era. He preferred the death of a martyr to the imputation of an apostate.

He prepared himself for his end, asked for a priest, and having made his confession, received absolution—a singular favour towards an excommunicated person. Deputations waited upon him at the last hour; cardinals and prelates trying to wring from his fears what they could not gain from his judgment. He stood firm to the truth.

Once more, on the 6th of July, he was summoned before the council, the Emperor again being present. He was condemned for publishing the Wickliffe

heresy. His courage did not fail him, though he knew that his fate was sealed. He attempted to defend the English doctrine, but was rudely silenced. Then he fell on his knees and appealed to his Saviour. Later, when his sentence had been read, he again prayed for forgiveness for his persecutors — which thorqughly Christian demonstration was received with shouts of derision. He was now clothed with his sacerdotal vestments, then article by article each was removed by seven bishops, with certain ceremonies; but he continued to answer with the same undaunted spirit. They removed his tonsure, and placed on his head a cap, decorated with demoniac figures and inscribed with the title "Arch-heretic."

"Now," cried one of the officiating prelates, "we surrender thy soul to the devil."

"But I," replied the brave reformer, "commend it to my Redeemer."

He was finally given over to the secular power for punishment, and as he passed out was greeted with the sight of a conflagration of his books. At this childish insult he smiled in pity. He presently reached the place of execution, where a pile of faggots stood ready. As he was being fastened to a stake, and the wood was about to be lighted, the marshal of the empire rode up and desired him to recant. The martyr's answer was ready—he had ever preached the gospel of Jesus Christ; he had therefore nothing to recant. In a moment the pile was in a blaze; but he continued praying as long as he was able to speak. Not a sign of the weakness of human nature was betrayed by that earnest

Christian, while the flames were racking him with tortures. In a few minutes nothing was left of the brave apostle of Wickliffe but a heap of ashes, and these his unrelenting persecutors caused to be thrown into the Rhine.*

The diffusion of English intelligence into Catholic theology owes much to John Huss, but more to another reformer connected with the same university,—Jerome of Prague, who went further afield, and sowed the Wickliffe opinions broadcast in Bohemia and Moravia, Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, as well as in Paris, Heidelberg, and Vienna. He belonged to a family of some distinction, and had been sent to finish his education at Oxford, where he had imbibed so high an estimate of the mental superiority of Wickliffe, as to have averred that till he appeared the world had been content with the shell of science; it was he who had laid open the kernel. He subsequently travelled extensively, even to the Holy Land; then having returned to Prague, where he generally resided, became intimately associated with John Huss,† in whose career he took a profound interest. Jerome was a layman of the knightly order, and several years younger than his friend. He was, however, a ripe scholar, as well as an admirable controversialist, and by his high character, as much as by his varied talents, won the esteem of princes and prelates, who were the most opposed to his religious opinions.

When his friend and colleague Huss was suffering under the tyranny of his persecutors at

* "Hist. Hussi Opp.," i. V. de Hardt, iv. 393. Neander.

† Palacky, "Hist. Bohem. Chron. Univers. Prag." Neander.

Constance, Jerome boldly wrote to the Emperor and cardinals, offering, if a safeguard were forwarded for his use, to answer publicly any accusation of heresy that might be brought against him. The security was not sent; if it had been, it was not likely to have been more respected than the one granted to John Huss. Then in the same spirit he caused a notice to be fixed on the doors of the churches, and the houses of the cardinals and principal prelates, in the Latin, German, and Bohemian languages, offering, if his personal safety were assured him, to defend every article of his faith. His opponents were not at all likely to grant him this opportunity for displaying his eloquence in recommendation of the English heresy, so having obtained the signatures of all the Bohemian knights then in Constance, as witnesses of his challenge, he started from the neighbouring town, Ueberlingen, where he had been staying, to return to Bohemia. His enemies, who dared not attempt to answer him in a fair and open manner, now caused him to be arrested, and in chains brought a prisoner to the council, who had issued a citation directing him to appear before them.

There he was baited by all the orators who could be induced to attack him. He answered much as his friend had answered under similar circumstances, that he was ready to abandon his own principles in favour of better. Shouts of derision were mingled with cries of "Jerome must be burnt." He undauntedly replied, "If you desire my death, let it come in God's name."

He was consigned to the custody of the arch-

bishop of Riga, who had him immured in a tower, where he was fettered to a stake by hands, feet, and neck. Here he remained without food, except bread and water, till attacked with serious illness, when an influential friend interposed, and he was treated with something like humanity. He was, however, left to languish many months in this cruel imprisonment; but the martyrdom of Huss had created such a feeling of exasperation among the knights of Bohemia, that the council became alarmed. They strained every nerve to obtain a recantation from their helpless prisoner, and, having sufficiently enfeebled his great spirit, did, on the 23rd of September, 1415, force from him his acknowledgment of a form of abjuration they had drawn up.

Nevertheless he was still kept in durance, though no longer in chains. He rapidly recovered his mental and bodily powers. Private examinations followed each other, and new commissions necessitated new examinations, till Jerome insisted on a public hearing before the council. In an evil hour for them and their cause, this was at last conceded, when for six hours he defended his opinions with such extraordinary eloquence that the impartial portion of his auditors could not disguise their admiration. He closed his wonderful discourse with a brilliant burst of invective against his judges, combined with so earnest a disclaimer of all he had been made to affirm against the sublime truths preached by Wickliffe and his Bohemian apostle, that his savage adversaries eagerly voted for his death. Some sense of shame or dread of

the consequences, induced a portion of the council to insist on an interval of forty days; then Jerome was led back to his loathsome prison to prepare for the fate of the martyred Huss.

What his brave spirit had to endure was well and feelingly described by a celebrated Florentine who had been employed as orator for the council. In a letter to a friend in Italy he states that Jerome had for three hundred and sixty days been confined in an offensive dungeon, where he could neither see nor write, and tortured by mental anguish sufficient to have destroyed his memory, nevertheless, that in his defence he had brought forward as many estimable authorities for his opinions, who were teachers of the Church, as could have been procured by unrestricted and prolonged study. Poggio describes his voice as pleasing, clear, and full, while his gestures were dignified, and calculated to excite indignation or pity. Though reduced to emaciation by his wearisome imprisonment, Jerome of Prague is further represented as standing up undaunted and fearless, not simply contemning death, but demanding it; so that he deserved to be regarded as a second Cato.*

"Oh!" exclaims the enthusiastic Italian; "what a man!—A man deserving of everlasting remembrance!" What a Christian! he might have added. What a saint! What a hero! Surely there must have been something in the English heresy worthy of everlasting remembrance to have produced so noble an advocate.

Others of his opponents were equally impressed with the grandeur of his spirit, and became the more

* Poggio. V. de Hardt. iii. 69.

eager for his recantation, Cardinal Francis Zabarella among the number; but he found the reformer preparing for a death that should give additional force to the principles he had so gloriously defended. The 30th of May was distinguished by the martyrdom of Jerome of Prague. He was burnt at the stake, displaying the same manhood, the same heroism, and the same Christianity, to the last moments of his life, that had won the admiration of the warm-hearted Poggio, who witnessed the martyr's last moments under torture, and expressed his amazement at his cheerfulness, fearlessness, and sublime indifference to pain. He avers that Jerome endured the agony of the fire with more complacency than Socrates exhibited when quaffing his cup of hemlock.

Such were the men created by the Christianity of Wickliffe. Persecution, as usual, increased the diffusion of the obnoxious opinions. A crusade was preached against the Hussites, and the cardinals were unremittingly occupied in organizing combinations against them, for an extermination as complete as that which befel the unfortunate Albigenses. Every expedient was had recourse to, for the purpose of exciting hatred against them; even the Maid of Orleans was prevailed upon to write them an admonitory letter. When threatening was found to be of no avail, prelates and potentates rivalled each other in professions of moderation; but the history of persecution had been written in such unmistakable characters, that the matter-of-fact Bohemians were able to resist all such diplomacy. They sturdily replied that they were separated by the broad distinction between practice and precept.

Their enemies had always the gospel in their mouths —they followed it in their conduct. Even when an enormous military force had been organized to overwhelm them, they maintained the same spirit, and the same confidence in the purity of their lives. They would submit to God alone, and relied on his support.

In the year 1428 Pope Eugenius IV. had contrived to bring together for the new crusade an army of one hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, under the chief command of the emperor Sigismund, and carried fire and sword into Bohemia. The Cardinal Julian marched with the mighty host, and was present at the destruction of two hundred villages; and the most frightful atrocities were committed by the invaders. The Hussites were not able to assemble in force against them till the 14th of August, 1431, when, with a very inferior army, they came up with their enemies at Tauss. The fight shortly became a flight: the valour of the Bohemian puritans, aided by their reputation of being befriended by Heaven, caused the imperial host to disperse with the loss of one hundred and fifty cannon, as well as the ordinary spoils of a great victory.

This result struck terror into the hearts of the principal crusaders. The cardinal had made the best fight he could for the Church, but his forces had been cut to pieces by the irresistible heretics. A council had assembled at Basle the preceding month, and to their consideration the Emperor left the Hussites. He and the princes of the empire had had enough of them. The cardinals could not conceal their uneasiness. Catholic Europe was

looking on at the unequal contest, and could scarcely avoid the conviction, that the aid on which the Bohemians had relied—the "spirit of God"—had really manifested itself in their favour. More disheartening still was the popular impression in Germany as well as elsewhere, that "the schismatics" were excellent Christians.

The court of Rome, notwithstanding this failure, as usual maintained its threatening attitude, and while all the rest of Christendom were desirous of conciliating the Hussites, the Pope and cardinals thought only of crushing them. The city assumed its gayest aspect, the Sacred College their most imposing magnificence, and the Pontiff the most exalted pontifical authority, when the Emperor came to Rome to be crowned in 1433. It has been affirmed that Martin IV. purposely caused the imperial crown to be placed awry while Sigismund knelt at his feet—then restored it to its proper position with his foot; but this has been stated of a preceding pope.

The Cardinal Julian presided at the council of Basle, and seems now to have been convinced that the time for suppressing this formidable sect by force had gone by. He determined to temporize till the old pontifical measures against schismatics could be used with better effect. It is hardly possible to comprehend the intensity of the feelings of fear and arrogance that alternately swayed the ecclesiastical portion of the assembly; but the lay element made its influence felt, when the clerical became belligerent; and there was always an argument ready in the mouth of the persuasive cardinal

on the advantages of temporary concessions. At last the ecclesiastical spirit was sufficiently humbled to send a message to the leaders of the Hussites, inviting them to a conference. It was couched in the most flattering terms, and professed the greatest possible respect for the wishes of the community thus addressed.

In accordance with the invitation, a deputation consisting of three hundred reformers appeared at Basle on the 9th of January, 1433. Among them were their principal preachers, and prominent in their company the inevitable Englishman, a "Peter Payne," said to have been the artist who some years previously had painted a very striking cartoon that had adorned an inn at Prague.* We are not quite sure of the authenticity of this incident. It is just possible. All that is certain is that the Englishman led the Hussites when they entered Basle.

The council were extremely complimentary in their reception of the deputation, who for fifty days carried on a controversy with the great officers of the Church of Rome. They held their own very stoutly, indeed sometimes so hard pressed their opponents that one or two of them lost temper. The latter accused the Hussite preachers of having stated that monachism was an invention of the devil, to which the Bohemians retorted by demanding "What else can it be? as it was not instituted either by Moses, the prophets, nor by the Saviour?" At this unanswerable assertion, the *odium theologicum* of the

* A representation of Christ entering Jerusalem, humbly riding on an ass, intended as a reflection on the state assumed by the prelates.

churchmen waxed so hot and strong, that the reformers indignantly withdrew and took their road home.

The council began to be alarmed as they contemplated the consequences of a failure of their negotiations, and sent the most moving messages of recall to the sturdy nonconformists. Everything seemed to be conceded. In reality the terms agreed upon were delusive, every one of the articles having been artfully framed by the ecclesiastical directors of the council to leave a margin for dispute on the first favourable opportunity. It soon came, and the court of Rome in a few years witnessed the entire collapse of the Hussite movement, and the restoration of the Apostolic Church to its ancient supremacy throughout the German continent.

Such was the apparent conclusion of the transplanted Reformation of Wickliffe. But it was not ended; scarcely was this stage in the great religious movement completed in one part of Germany, when it commenced with renewed vigour in another; for after an interval of rest, an association of earnest-minded priests renewed the struggle for a purer faith. Though English Protestants cannot be too grateful to them for their successful exertions, they ought not to lose sight of the fact that such success was mainly owing to the impression left upon the mind and heart of the country by the pre-Lutheran reformers.

CHAPTER III.

ROBERT HALLAM, CARDINAL PRIEST.

Chancellor of Oxford—Bishop of Salisbury—The Papal Court—The Bishop sent to the Council at Pisa—is created a Cardinal—Three rival Popes—The Great Council of Constance—Cardinal Hallam at the head of the English Embassy—Deposition of the rival Popes—Hallam supports the idea of a Reformation—Friendly Demonstrations of the Emperor Frederick—Indisposition of the English Cardinal while attending the Council—His Death.

HALLAM studied for the Church during a period of great controversial excitement at the universities. The new opinions were gaining ground despite of persecution; this was due in a great measure to the want of discipline in the Anglican and increasing misgovernment and mal-administration in the Roman Church. The exposures of the evils of a bad system became more daring after every attempt made for their suppression.

The Romans again drove away the Supreme Pontiff, for Boniface IX. took up his residence at Assisi till he had proclaimed another jubilee for the year 1400, when the citizens, grateful for the harvest they were then sure to reap, enticed him back by acceding to his demands to fortify the castle of St. Angelo, and nominate a senator. He returned, and there was then again a glorious time for Rome. With the liberal contributions of the faithful, and

the result of a papal decree that every priest on vacating a benefice, should pay a year's income into the pontifical treasury, the court ought to have been content.

Hallam gained so much influence at Oxford that he was elected chancellor of the university in 1403. His rule does not appear to have been marked by the intolerance which usually distinguished the opening career of the aspirant for ecclesiastical dignities. Of his learning there seems to have been no question, nor was there any of his piety. These qualifications secured him the archdeaconry of Canterbury, a post of much influence. Here too he seems to have displayed his great abilities in a manner that secured him more valuable preferment in the shape of the bishopric of Salisbury, which he received in 1407.

The eyes of all churchmen were directed at this time to the proceedings at Rome, which caused all good Catholics profound anxiety. The papal court gathered in a restricted harvest, but had cause to congratulate themselves on the return to the old dominion, for that gave them an advantage that could scarcely be overrated under the circumstances in which they were placed. The chair of St. Peter was at Rome, therefore there must be the only orthodox and Apostolic Church; but their faith in their own security was rudely shaken when they heard that the Emperor had gone to Paris and declared in favour of the anti-Pope. The cardinals avert edimpending ruin by stirring up the electoral princes to depose the imperial recreant. Rupert was made to take the place of the drunkard Wenzel,

and went to Rome to have his election confirmed. There were not only two popes at this time, but three emperors, Frederick having been raised to that dignity; but Rupert found his journey fruitless, was generally neglected, and died in 1411.

In the year 1409, with Chichele, bishop of St. David's,* and Chillingden, prior of Christchurch, Bishop Hallam was sent to the general council appointed to be held at Pisa, in the hope of termi-

* Chichele was employed by the king, Henry IV., on several important negotiations with Pope Innocent VII., the king of France, and subsequently with Gregory XII. It was during his second visit to Rome that the see of St. David's became vacant in 1408, and the Pontiff consecrated him. Alexander V., who had studied at Oxford, was elected pope at Pisa; the rival pontiffs, Gregory and Benedict, having been deposed. In 1410 Chichele was in France, employed arranging a truce; after which he returned to his diocese or assisted in counselling the king. At the demise of Archbishop Arundel, with the approval of the chapter and of the Pontiff, he succeeded to the primacy, at a period of singular peril for the Church, and on two occasions crossed the Channel to visit Henry V. during his invasion of France. This monarch he also outlived, and in the following reign distinguished himself by the noble stand he made against the dominating spirit of the Papacy. By this patriotic conduct he so far forfeited the favour of the Pope that he was not selected to join the College of Cardinals. Nevertheless, he was so thoroughly orthodox, especially in his dealings with the Lollards, that the University of Oxford, in grateful acknowledgment of his princely foundation of All Souls' College, wrote to the Pope, Martin V., an enthusiastic vindication of his character, the Pontiff having threatened the country with an interdict, because the archbishop had opposed the exactions of the papal agents. He, however, was carried off, leaving the primate to continue his ecclesiastical reforms undisturbed. In 1442, having nearly reached his eightieth year, he applied to Pope Eugenius to permit of his retiring from his onerous post, but died on the 12th of April, of the following year, sincerely lamented as one of the most admirable examples of an Anglican primate.

nating the scandal the Pope and anti-Pope were bringing upon the Church by their indecorous hostility. In this assembly the bishop of Salisbury greatly distinguished himself. Pope John XXIII., to mark his sense of the claims of the English prelates to consideration, in the year 1411 is said to have included two in one creation of cardinals,—Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury.* Langley's elevation, however, is doubtful.

The position of the Church was at this period so grave a reproach that it became a paramount duty of all her faithful sons to terminate it as quickly as possible. There were no less than three rival popes, all exercising the papal authority with the same pretensions to supremacy and infallibility; one excommunicating the other, and threatening the perils of eternal damnation to his supporters, while the Sacred College was split into sections, each fostering a deadly feud against the rest. The rival pontiffs styled themselves Gregory XII., Benedict XII., and John XXIII. The latter had persuaded the emperor Frederick to call a general council in the hope of being able through its agency of getting rid of his rivals; but the Emperor shortly afterwards betraying his knowledge of his character, John made overtures to other German potentates.

The confusion that reigned throughout the Christian community can scarcely be exaggerated. It was in vain that the great ecclesiastical council assembled at Pisa endeavoured to restore order by getting rid of the papal rivals and putting forward

* Cardella, iii. 14. Godwin, i. 95.

a Pope of their own choice. The deposed pontiffs contrived to find support, and the College of Cardinals now had three masters instead of one. What rendered the case worse for the Church was their want of proper qualifications. John XXIII., the youngest, has the reputation of having been the worst of the three. It has been stated that he had once been a pirate, and had always been addicted to debauched habits. Yet so low had the character of the successor of St. Peter sunk, and so depraved had become the hierarchy of the Church, that one of the cardinals (Peter d'Ailly) openly asserted that a good pope would be out of his sphere.*

Another general council was therefore summoned to assemble at Constance. Unfortunately for the Church, there were contending influences at work. Sigismund openly supported John XXIII. by publicly, with the imperial insignia, acting as deacon, whilst he was performing mass; but the English, in consequence of John's bad character, preferred the Avignon pontiff. The ecclesiastical portion of the assembly comprised 4 patriarchs, 29 cardinals, 33 archbishops, 145 bishops, 134 abbots, 1,800 priests, 750 doctors, and monks innumerable; to these were added, the Emperor, a large majority of the electoral princes, the nobles of the empire, and the representatives of the sovereigns of Europe, including Greece and Russia.

Cardinal Hallam headed a deputation of eight prelates,—the bishops of London, Bath, Winchester, Lichfield, Hereford, Bangor, and Norwich. He

* Menzel, chap. clxxiii. This had proved to be the case in the election of Celestine V.

was sternly opposed to the rival popes, and against John distinguished himself by an undisguised aversion to his immoral life. To effect the desired reform in the Church, he became intimately associated with the emperor Sigismund, as well as with the German and the French deputies, in opposition to the Italian cardinals who favoured John; and also opposed the supporters of the anti-Pope. But he was not a promoter of the reformation desired by Wickliffe, nor was he a persecutor of his Bohemian disciples. His abhorrence of the licentious pontiff was shown in his declaration that he deserved to be burnt at the stake. On another occasion the English cardinal proposed that if the Pope would not appoint his procurators, he should be placed under arrest. Of this Pope John subsequently complained. The cardinal was opposed to persecution unto death of the Bohemian reformer, repeating that God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his errors and live; nevertheless, this Christian doctrine found no favour in the assembly.

All were interested in maintaining the affluence enjoyed by the Church, which they believed the reformers intended to take away. Some entertained ideas of reform, but they were vague and circumscribed. They, however, were as decided as they were unanimous in opposition to any change that might affect their own interests.

An assembly possessing so large an ecclesiastical element, as might be expected, could have no popular action. The strong desire of many influential laymen to introduce a thorough reformation of the

Church, was skilfully put on one side. The first question for consideration was the form of voting: it was decided that this was to be by nations, which gave a preponderance to the French and English interests. It was then declared that the papal authority was subservient to that of the council, which enabled the assembly to insist on the resignation of all the rival pontiffs. The churchmen having legislated thus far, and put an end to an evil that inconvenienced them, would not sanction any discussion about evils equally notorious under which the laity were suffering. The reformation of the Church was deferred; neither patriarchs, nor cardinals, nor bishops, nor abbots, nor priests, nor monks, wanted reform.

Hallam was selected to be the head of the embassy sent from England to this memorable council. It consisted of four hundred laymen and ecclesiastics; among whom were the earl of Warwick and Lord Fitzhugh, each accompanied by a considerable suite,—the prior of Worcester and the abbot of Westminster being permitted to have sixty horsemen, and the others in proportion to their rank.* He took a prominent part in the proceedings of the council in favour of the Emperor; indeed the Pope, John XXIII., found him so determined an opponent that he accused him of striving to make himself superior to every one. The fact is, the cardinal had not only threatened to have the unworthy Pontiff arrested, but openly denounced him as a criminal who deserved the stake.†

* Rymer, "Fœdera," v. 95.

† L'Enfant, i. 123.

The council of Constance was one of those general assemblies of the Church to which prelates of the entire community were invited to deliberate on occasions of peculiar difficulty. Every nation in communion with her sent its representatives. But secular subjects had often as much consideration as spiritual, and rival politics were sometimes more thought of than conflicting doctrines. The occasion was now and then turned into a trial of strength between some of the leading European powers; of these, the emperor of Germany or "king of the Romans" was sure to be one party, and the king of France or the existing pontiff another. The influence of England was desired by both; but it not unfrequently occurred that the deputation from England were divided in opinion; at least so it happened in this instance, for Cardinal Hallam advocated one set of ideas and Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, who had joined the assembly, another.

Presently Frederick of Austria appeared at the head of an imposing retinue, and on the 21st of March, 1415, he gave a tournament in the neighbourhood—less to entertain the distinguished assemblage who had flocked to the city than to afford an opportunity to his friend Pope John to make his escape, he having discovered that the council would not entertain his pretensions, and hoping by his withdrawal to stop their hostile proceedings. He fled in the disguise of a groom; but the emperor Sigismund proved that he possessed sufficient influence with the assembly to induce it to proceed to business. Frederick and Pope John were overpowered by the military force that was soon arrayed against them;

the Pontiff was surrendered, and his protector obliged to present himself to the council in the refectory of the Franciscan convent at Constance, humble himself, and sue for pardon.*

The desire for a reformation in the Church had influenced Cardinal Hallam to come forward and fearlessly express the conviction of every enlightened churchman, that the most flagrant abuses of the system ought to be got rid of; but there flourished on these abuses a portion of the hierarchy much too influential to be coerced. The court of Rome and the foreign prelates who looked to it for preferment, were satisfied that nothing needed alteration; and set themselves determinedly to oppose the current of public opinion which insisted on change. In England these "ultra-montanes," as they would now be styled, were directed by the king's uncle, the bishop of Winchester, who had entered into very friendly relations with the Holy See.

Notwithstanding the proved profligacy of Pope John, he was permitted to retain his rank in the Sacred College; the same favour was granted to Gregory. Benedict remained in Spain, and set the council at defiance. He insisted on remaining pope, and exercised the papal authority in spite of them. The great assembly were in a short time absorbed in the genial occupation of persecuting heretics, and strove earnestly to destroy the followers of John Huss in Bohemia.†

The reformation question had been brought forward by the German and English portion of the

* Coxe, "History of the House of Austria," i. 197.

† See *antè*, p. 49.

assembly, but without avail; the latter finding the project hopeless, at last gave in, and the French and Cardinal D'Ailly taunted their colleagues with wanting to reform others while they were themselves notoriously good for nothing. The council of Constance therefore did not legislate for the Church with any particular profit. The cruel deaths of the Bohemian reformers excited a revolution; they were also the means of greatly spreading their opinions, and caused a retaliation in which the religious houses throughout the kingdom, and the priests belonging to them, suffered a similar fate. A frightful war ensued, that lasted for many years, causing immense slaughter, and ruining the fairest provinces of the empire.

Frederick was placed in confinement and treated with so much indignity that he determined to make his escape. This he effected on the 1st of March, 1416. The council excommunicated him, and he was put under the ban of the empire. Sigismund took the field against him and his supporters, who had joined him in considerable force; but his brother Ernest marched upon Constance with a powerful army, and, assisted by the representations of the new Pope, secured terms of accommodation, by which he was reconciled to the council and to the empire. To mark his sense of the Pontiff's good offices, he assisted in supporting the canopy of state under which Martin V. left Constance to take possession of his dominions.

The king of the Romans had opposed the evils of the pontifical system till he had drawn upon himself the active hostility of the papal court, and betrayed

his inclination to maintain a good understanding with the king of England in his quarrel with the Pope, by showing the English embassy, on its arrival at Constance, the most flattering attentions. He publicly wore the order of the Garter, took care that the Englishmen should have precedence of Frenchmen, and paid marked attention to the opinions of the English cardinal. It was natural that the latter, assured of the Emperor's co-operation in his scheme of church reform, should give him all the moral support in his power; and in his place in this important assembly he distinguished himself by the boldness of his advocacy. His health, however, began perceptibly to fail, till, in September, 1417, this distinguished reformer breathed his last.*

The English prelates who assisted in the election of Pope Martin in 1417 were Richard, bishop of London; Nicholas, bishop of Bath; John of Lichfield, John of Norfolk, Thomas, abbot of St. Mary's, York, and Thomas, prothonotary of York.†

* Elmham, in his chapter headings to his "Liber Metricus de Henrico V.," refers to him—"De morte venerabilis memoriæ Magistri Roberti Halum, Episcopi Sarun, in civitate Constantiæ." The subject he dismisses in two lines :—

"Præsulis hic Sarum mortem Constantia luxit,
Sit data cum Christo vita beata sibi."

The versifier then indulges in a tremendous attack on Oldcastle and the Lollards.—Cole, "Memorials of Henry V.," 156.

† Ciaconius, ii. 1089.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY BEAUFORT, CARDINAL LEGATE.

His Family Influence—Studies—Church Preferment—Religious Re-action—Beaufort, Chancellor and Bishop of Winchester—Accession of Henry V.—Alleged Religious Conspiracy—Persecution of Lord Cobham—He is brought into the Archbishop's Court—escapes from the Tower—is hanged and burnt—The Bishop goes to Rome—becomes a Persecutor of Lollards—quits England—joins the Council at Constance—is created a Cardinal—Remonstrance of Archbishop Chichele—Accession of Henry VI.—"The Good Duke"—Antagonism of the Cardinal and the Duke—The Cardinal again Chancellor—is appointed by the Pope Generalissimo of the Crusade against the Hussites—assists in the Congress of Arras—marries Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou—Invention of Printing—Nicholas V.—The Cardinal and the Duchess of Burgundy—Jack Cade—Cardinal Beaufort's Wealth—His Death—Character—Letters written by him.

HENRY was the second son of John, duke of Lancaster, who was the fourth son of Edward III. His mother was Katherine, widow of Sir Hugh Swineford; she was the duke's third wife, but had borne him children previously, who were legitimated by act of parliament. They gave a powerful support to Bolingbroke, and on his attaining the throne, were amply rewarded. Henry Beaufort went through the usual educational course, with a view to the Church, the influence of his family being sufficient to insure him its highest honours in England

and in Rome. He went to Cambridge as well as to Oxford (Queen's College), subsequently proceeding to Aix-la-Chapelle for instruction in jurisprudence. His studies were as much secular as clerical. His royal lineage might open an easy way to the more elevated offices in Church and State; but he accepted church preferment in the first instance; Boniface IX. causing Beckingham, bishop of Lincoln, to vacate his see, that this scion of royalty might commence his career in a position worthy of his birth. He is said to have been thus invested with episcopal honours in the year 1397. Two years later he was appointed chancellor of Oxford and dean of Wells.

Beaufort commenced his ecclesiastical career when the reactionary feeling in religion was becoming conspicuous. Every succeeding century the more salient features of the papal system appeared to be less and less consonant with rational ideas of Christianity; but through the unwise spirit that prevailed in the pontifical government, what had appeared uncharacteristic, was made so repulsive, that the bold spirits who ventured to complain could scarcely avoid entertaining doubts of its divine pretensions. This however had been the course religious opinion had often taken before—despotism had produced dissent, and persecution direct antagonism. Nevertheless the anti-Christian policy was maintained, the national churches being regarded chiefly as sources of income, and humiliations were heaped on them apparently to indicate their subservient position.

John of Oxenedes gives a pitiful account of the Anglican Church about the middle of the thirteenth

century, and accuses the bishop of Hereford of having betrayed the English prelates.*

The song-writers made much of the same subject, and gave expression to the popular complaints. A poem "On the Times," alternately English and Latin, written in the reign of Richard II. (*circa* 1388),† conveys a striking picture of the evils under which the country was labouring, with a reference or two to social customs equally graphic.

"'Vive la belle!" they cry,
Fragrantia vina bibentes,
Thee drynke tyl they be drie,
Lingua sensuque carentes.
Thei cry 'Fyl the bowles!'
Bonus est liquor, hic mancamus;
For alle crystone sowllys,
Dum durant vasa bibamus."

Gower and Chaucer were equally severe upon clerical abuses. The former generally wrote in Latin, and favoured the Romanists, who, as if aggravated by the severe remarks made upon them, increased their means of persecution. The popular party in religion coalesced with the popular party in politics, which probably excited the king's anger against them. "Piers Ploughman" and "Jack Upland" were the representatives of public opinion. Their satirical attacks upon the priests, especially the friars, contained a large amount of provocation. They exposed the abuses of the Church with marvellous freedom, while the blameless lives of the

* "Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes" (Sir Henry Ellis)—Rolls Publications, p. 205.

† Wright, "Political Poems and Songs," i. 270.

Wickliffites, as well as their purer doctrines, were skilfully contrasted with the corruption and false teaching of their rivals and oppressors.

A few years later some churchmen again came forward as versifiers, urged probably by the popularity of the attacks upon them and their faith, and became equally severe upon the Lollards; but these counter assaults only increased the existing hostility. There followed rhymes still more pungent upon notorious abuses in the Church, till the stronger party determined to have recourse to the unanswerable arguments of the faggot and the stake.

During Beaufort's preparation for the priesthood, as well as through the whole course of his career, the struggle against the papal system was maintained. His sympathies, however, could never have been with the malcontents. His interests lay in a contrary direction, and of these he never lost sight. His family assisted in his advancement in secular offices, and at last secured for him the position of chancellor.

The national feeling was so strongly opposed to the domination of the priesthood, that two years before an enactment had been passed for the suppression of the alien priories. The great men who carried this measure were the only persons who profited largely by it, for they secured for themselves the revenues of the religious houses. The success of this anti-foreign demonstration alarmed the heads of the other rich ecclesiastical institutions, and as a safeguard against the increasing influence of the Lollards, they drew nearer to the Crown. Henry V. was persuaded that the followers of Wick-

liffe were not only pestilent heretics, but politicians of a dangerous type.

The Lollard leaders were not deterred; one of the most popular of them, Sir John Oldcastle, stated in parliament, that "our sovereign lord the king may have the temporal possessions and lands which, by the bishops, abbots, and priors, are spent and wasted in the realm, which would suffice to find the king with fifteen earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred almshouses for the relief of poor people, more than there were then in England. That every earl should have of yearly rent three thousand marks, every knight one hundred marks and two plough lands, every esquire forty marks and two plough lands, and every almshouse one hundred marks, and be overlooked by two secular priests to each house. And over and above all these the king might put yearly into his own coffers twenty thousand pounds."*

Henry Beaufort became intimate with the family of Richard Fitz-Allan, ninth earl of Arundel, one of the heroes of Cresсy; and still more so, it has been affirmed, with his daughter Alice, by whom, according to the same authority, he had a daughter married to Sir Henry Stradling, a Glamorganshire knight.†

* Walsingham, ii. 282.

† Dr. Hook considers that he may have been married to her before he accepted Holy Orders, adding, "But if she continued to live with him after his ordination, though in the eye of the law she would continue to be his wife, she would be treated by the Church as his concubine." Lady Alice, however, chose to be the wife of Thomas Holland, marshal of England, son of Joanna, widow of the Black Prince; and had by him a family of two sons and six

He is stated to have been chancellor at the summoning of the Parliament in 1404, that assembled at Coventry, styled by the lawyers *Parliamentum indoctum*, or Lack-learning Parliament, because they had been excluded by an act (46 Edward III.), at least from the lower house.* The chancellor's opening address announced invasion by the Scotch and Welsh within the island, and the French and Flemish without, and that the new king (Henry IV.) had found the treasury empty, and the country totally without resources to place it in a proper state of defence. A subsidy therefore was required, though it was affirmed that the king was extremely reluctant to have recourse to taxation.

It was while Beaufort was chancellor for the first time that the House of Commons made the startling proposition to the king in parliament to seize on the ecclesiastical revenues, as the clergy had accumulated a third part of the wealth of the kingdom, while their possession of such wealth had made them negligent of their duty. Archbishop Arundel seems to have been taken by surprise, for he could only offer a mild remonstrance that deprecated neglect of the prayers of the Church. The primate then made a strong appeal to the king and the Lords, which elicited from the former a promise to support the Church. The archbishop now took heart

daughters, of whom Margaret took for her second husband Thomas Plantagenet, duke of Clarence, son of Henry IV.—"Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," iv. 524. Burke, "Extinct Peerage," 267.

* Dr. Hook, "Archbishops of Canterbury," iv. 487. We think it was his younger brother Thomas who then held this post.

and abused the Commons as avaricious and irreligious. The members returned to their own chamber, and passed a bill embodying the chief features of their proposition; but the spiritual peers had sufficient influence in the upper house to throw it out.

Many of the members of the lower house had adopted the religious opinions of Wickliffe, and were indisposed to endure exactions from either pope or priest. This spirit menaced the position of the wealthy prelates; and to secure the king's favour against it, they were prodigal in their contributions to the State. The chancellor dwelt on this liberality, and, after asserting that the clergy sent their tenants to serve the king in his wars, ventured to add that they at the same time assisted him with their prayers. At this up jumped a certain Sir John Cheney, apparently intensely Lollard, and blirted out a contemptuous opinion of such assistance, doggedly asserting that the lands of the priests would do far better service. The episcopal chancellor uttered a strong protest against such unseemly language, but could not help observing that the plain-spoken knight of the shire had numerous supporters.

In the year 1405, the death of the munificent William of Wykeham left the rich see of Winchester at Beaufort's disposal, with the approval of the king and the Pope, and he enjoyed its princely revenues in addition to the large income he drew from his secular employments. As a statesman he seems to have exhibited high qualities at a very critical period in the history of the government and the Church. The martial feeling in the country was

becoming antagonistic to the papal system, and a religious sentiment daily more popular, that breathed of independence. The bishop of Winchester was the faithful servant of the Church of Rome, but was forced to exercise unusual discretion in opposing himself to public opinion.

A few years later Beaufort had again to address both houses of Parliament; the chancellor Arundel having been dismissed March 10, 1409, and no successor as yet appointed. He made a discourse on the necessity of being liberal in granting the necessary supplies, in which he referred to Aristotle's answer to Alexander the Great, as to finding the best defences of a city in the loyalty of the people to their ruler; but this only brought forward in a more business-like form the favourite parliamentary project for dealing with the church revenues. The king is said to have secretly favoured it, but contrived to cloak his hostile intentions by an affected zeal for the punishment of heretics; and the first burnt in England suffered during the sitting of this Parliament.*

At the accession of Henry V., March 21, 1413, Bishop Beaufort was again appointed chancellor. Once more he addressed the two houses; but this session the Commons renewed their attack upon church revenues and abuses, and could not be driven from it by the skilful diversion which was then attempted against the Lollards. This determination on the part of the representatives of the people caused no slight alarm among churchmen. They could not conceal from them-

* An Archbishop of York endured the death of a traitor soon afterwards.

selves the fact that the Church of Rome was rapidly losing ground in the kingdom. Nevertheless, though it was quite clear that this arose from wanton aggression on, and reckless trifling with, the feelings and convictions of all who dared to differ with them on points of doctrine, the Anglican prelates could think of nothing but continuing the injustice that had produced so alarming a decline of devotion.

At the commencement of this king's reign, his predilections for the Papacy could not have been very prominent; indeed, Henry is known to have given some favour to the intentions of the leaders of the Wickliffe movement. Knowing the weakness of his religious principles, and his strong desire for martial fame, Archbishop Chichele and other orthodox dignitaries diverted his attention from the proposed reformation to the more pleasing subject of conquests in France. The address of the primate before the king and Parliament, no doubt satisfied that assembly as to the rights of Henry to the French crown; but the argument was fallacious. A religious conspiracy is said to have been discovered in the Christmas of 1413, the object of which was to kill the king, to deprive the principal ecclesiastics of sight, and to behead the nobles who supported the Roman party; to banish the mendicant friars, and to fill the chief places of the Anglican Church with priests who professed the new opinions.* This is known as Acton's Con-

* "Versus Rhythmici de Henrico V."

"Quosdam prælatos statuerunt exoculare,
Altus et natos proceres tunc decapitare.

spiracy, and is fully related by Walsingham and other chroniclers; but so intense is the hatred of the monkish historians to the professors of what they deemed heterodox ideas, that too much caution cannot be exercised in adopting their accounts. One of their assertions is, that the Lollards received the devil in the shape of a fly.*

Archbishop Arundel resumed the persecution of the Lollards, and having called a synod at St. Paul's, of the English hierarchy, shortly after Henry V.'s coronation, they examined the new opinions with so sharp a scrutiny that they discovered in them two hundred and forty-six erroneous conclusions. All the MSS. that could be collected of Wickliffe were publicly burnt at Paul's Cross. One book was seized in Paternoster Row, that had been sent there to be illuminated. It was ascertained that Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcastle) was the proprietor; and as he was known to be an active supporter of the reformers, a deputation of the prelates waited on the king at his palace at Kennington, and read extracts from the volume.

> Religiosa manus opus et servile patraret,
> Nemo nisi vanus apud illos presbyteraret,
> Omnis in exilium frater pauperculus iret.
> Sic Evangelium, sic sacrum dogma periret,
> Regnum cum clero, turbante præpete gyro,
> Falsum pro vero docuerunt famine miro."

"Memorials of Henry V.," edited by C. A. Cole,—Rolls Publications, p. 69.

* "Redmanni Historia Henrici V." "Memorials of Henry V." (Cole), p. 15. Redmayne describes the conspirators as assembling in an armed body in St. Giles's Fields: they were attacked and dispersed by the king.

Lord Cobham was sent for. He declared that he had only read two or three leaves.* Henry counselled moderation, and dismissed the assembly.

The king subsequently, in a private interview, strove to induce Lord Cobham to submit to the authority of the Church; but he in reply inveighed against the Pope with such spirit that Henry, who could not afford to quarrel with Rome, left him to the mercy of the primate. The bishops having conferred together, caused papers to be fixed on Rochester Cathedral, citing Lord Cobham to appear before the archbishop at his residence, Leeds Castle, in the same county. The citation was torn down, then put up again; then torn down a second time by his friends. He did not appear at Leeds Castle; the primate condemned him for contumacy, and threatened him with severe penalties. In defence, the accused drew up a confession of his faith, and carried it to the king, who would not receive it. He offered to produce a hundred knights who would defend him against all charges of heresy; and in the same chivalrous spirit proposed to defend his opinions, after the law of arms, against every assailant. Henry appears to have been entirely in the hands of the high church party, the knowledge of which caused Lord Cobham, following the example of Wickliffe, to produce a written appeal to the Pope. This greatly incensed the king, who sent the reformer to the Tower till he should be summoned for trial.

When brought before his ecclesiastical judges in the king's privy chamber, he read his confession of

* Wilkins, "Concilia," ii. 357. Arundel's "Register."

faith. This, though deemed satisfactory in some points, was not so in others, and he was strictly examined as to his belief on matters he had prudently omitted. He was then dismissed to his prison to reconsider his opinions. Shortly afterwards he was summoned to attend a fuller meeting of churchmen, —bishops, priors, wardens, doctors of divinity and canon law, with the archbishop presiding, at the house of the Dominican Friars in Ludgate. It became evident that the prisoner was to be made an example of, as an attempt to crush the rising reformation.

Archbishop Arundel resumed his examination, and was not a little astonished when the accused emphatically protested before the crowded court against his unjust usage. The primate, however, again returned to the Romish teaching respecting the sacrament, which he well knew the followers of Wickliffe repudiated; then the doctors in a very unseemly manner were permitted, several at a time, to cry out against him as a heretic. It was clear to them that his opinions differed from the teaching of the Church, and they appeared delighted at having got him to make this manifest. They continued to press him on other points of doctrine, and generally contrived to elicit some heterodox acknowledgment. The bishops, the priors, the doctors, all assailed him; he defended himself with singular skill and temper.

The archbishop now threatened severe punishment if he did not submit; but the heroic spirit was not to be so easily subdued; finally the judge, standing up, and the clergy and laity "veiling their bonnets," condemned him, for professing damnable heresies, "to the secular jurisdiction, power, and

judgment, to do him thereupon to death." Undauntedly the condemned openly averred that he would, with the grace of God, stand fast to his opinions as long as he had life. After a short address to the people, he knelt down and prayed for his enemies. He was taken back to prison to prepare for death; but mindful of his popularity, he caused a statement to be made public refuting the reports spread about as to his confessions and abjuration. He must have had friends in the Tower, for he presently escaped from the fortress, and concealed himself in Wales.

About the year 1413 the bishop of Winchester headed a deputation sent to Rome to endeavour to put an end to the dispute between the three popes. The pontiffs were told by them that if one did not give over his assumption of the title, England would obey neither. The chancellors of the two universities were of the mission, and Oxford sent a communication threatening withdrawal if the scandal continued.

Bishop Beaufort is believed to have afforded to Archbishop Arundel special assistance in carrying out his extreme measures against the Lollards, from his application to the Pope to have the body of Wickliffe exhumed, and buried in a dung-heap,—to the vindictive operation of the infamous law he got placed on the statute book, "De hæretico comburendo."

The faggots were piled and the victims placed at the stake, by the selfish policy of the prelates, whose temporal possessions had been threatened; but Beaufort, with the rest of the lords temporal and spiritual, must have the discredit of these vin-

dictive cruelties. As he was the archbishop's first cousin, he is likely to have taken more than ordinary interest in his proceedings. There were other influences at work: he was desirous of standing well with the court of Rome; moreover, was likely to entertain a strong aristocratic prejudice against what was considered the levelling tendency of the popular movement.

Henry Beaufort therefore is entitled to a share in the reprobation usually directed against the Lollard persecution, as much for the merciless death of the humble tailor, John Badby, as for that of the chantry priest, William Sawtree, who was condemned by the archbishop "to be committed to the fire to be burned, for detestation of his crime, and the manifest example of other Christians." *

In 1415 the bishop of Winchester was sent by the young king, his nephew, with other ambassadors, to ask for the hand of Katherine, daughter of the king of France. He displayed prodigious state on this occasion.

The persecution now set in in earnest; nearly forty priests and gentlemen were seized and condemned in the bishop's courts, then hanged, and burnt in St. Giles's Fields, as well as two tradesmen in Smithfield; thus establishing a wretched precedent of severity against liberty of conscience, which was sure to produce reprisals.

Archbishop Arundel died soon afterwards; but his severities against the Lollards were continued by his successor, Henry Chichele, who was equally subservient to Rome. The king had offered large

* Rymer, "Fœdera," viii. 178.

rewards for the capture of the fugitive Lord Cobham; but he was much beloved by the Welshmen, and remained undisturbed for four years. Then the influence of the Church was exercised upon a person possessed of great influence there, who treacherously contrived to make him his prisoner, and carried him back to London in the year 1417.

Redmayne states that he at first took refuge near St. Alban's, and subsequently escaped to Wales. Parliament having insisted on having him brought before them, he addressed that assembly in a learned oration, for the greater part of which, if not the whole, the chronicler drew upon his imagination. There is little doubt that these writers were glad to testify to their orthodoxy on such occasions, and took especial pains that their zeal in the cause of the Church should not be concealed. In prose and verse the aspirants for ecclesiastical honours rivalled each other in abusing the Lollards. One of the best examples, a Latin poem that had been written about 1381, is an attack upon the followers of Wickliffe.*

These champions, as we have already intimated, did not have it all their own way: the muse was invoked by the reformers with a fair amount of success, and the friars very freely handled in more than one poem. "Piers Ploughman's Crede," "The Complaint of the Ploughman," and others, were extremely popular: the latter bears especial reference to the two religious parties in the country, pressing hard upon the Roman ecclesiastics, as in the following verse:—

* "Political Poems and Songs," Thomas Wright—Rolls Publications, i. 231. See "On the Council of London."

"They maken parsons for the pennie,
And canons and her cardinals;
Unnethes amonges hem áll is any,
That he ne hath glosed the gospell fals.
For Christ made never no cathedrals,
Ne with him was no cardinall,
With a red hat, as usen minstrals." *

The priesthood had again become omnipotent; the State succumbed; the court of Rome had faithful servants, and no one daring to interpose in behalf of one outlawed and excommunicated, Lord Cobham was carried on a hurdle, with his hands bound behind him, from the Tower to St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and there hanged on a gallows, over a pile of burning faggots. He died with a cheerful countenance, in his last moments commending his soul to God.†

Thus perished another witness against Roman despotism, another martyr for an English Reformation; and on the earnest-minded disciples of Wickliffe, who suffered in his cause, his fate produced the deepest impression. The memory of "the good Lord Cobham" was cherished by all his countrymen who could appreciate a heroic nature in a noble life. He remained one of England's worthies long after the opinions of which he was the champion became the religion of the State.

The wealth of the bishop of Winchester was known to be enormous, but though other influential peers aided the king with large loans, he declined affording any assistance till the crown was

* Wright, "Political Poems and Songs," i. 312. See also 317 for another contemptuous reference to the cardinal's hat. The poem is a bitter satire upon the papal system.

† Fox, "Acts and Monuments." Bale, "Brief Chronicle," &c.

offered as security. This manner of dealing at last so annoyed his royal kinsman that he deprived him of the great seal on the 23rd of July.

About this time he seems to have quitted the kingdom ostensibly on a religious pilgrimage; but the state of the Church of Rome attracted him in the direction of Constance, at the period selected for the general council.

At this juncture Cardinal Hallam died, and the party of reaction found a thorough supporter in his successor, as the chief of the English embassy. It was a critical moment in the history of the Church, for the Emperor, in conjunction with the English cardinal, had been endeavouring, as we have shown, to make their proposal for a reformation take precedence of all other business; but the bishop of Winchester, when appealed to, threw all his influence into the opposite scale, and by deciding that a pope should first be elected, deferred the dangerous discussion *sine die*. All his personal interest, as a near relative of the powerful king of England, was now exerted to fix the choice of the council on a person opposed to church reform. In this he succeeded; and the new Pontiff (Martin V.) proved a determined opponent to any change in the Church.

In the November following, the grateful Pontiff nominated the uncle of the king of England a member of the Sacred College, as cardinal of St. Eusebius. The intelligence of the change of policy in the proceedings of the council of Constance surprised the promoters of ecclesiastical reform in England; but they were startled by the news of Beaufort having been made a cardinal by the

newly-appointed Pope, without the slightest communication on the subject to either the king or the archbishop, both of whom were known to be opposed to his receiving such a dignity. Martin V. lost no time in displaying his policy, for immediately afterwards he appointed Beaufort *legate à latere* for life, with permission to hold his bishopric *in commendam*. There could be no difficulty in coming to a conclusion as to the meaning of this elevation. It threatened the extinction of advanced opinions in religion, and the entire subjugation of the Anglican Church to Rome.

The *legate à latere* did not permit the clergy or the laity to remain long in doubt as to his intentions. To undo all that had been done, to extinguish all hope of doing anything afresh in the way of church reformation, became his manifest purpose; and under his auspices papal supremacy, as it had flourished in the reign of John, and papal exactions, as they had existed in the worst days of Romish despotism, were, the reformers concluded, to prevail unchecked throughout the kingdom.

The primate Chichele was the first who sounded the note of alarm. He wrote to Henry the most urgent remonstrances against the election of Pope Martin, as well as against the new appointments of the bishop of Winchester, without the king's being permitted to have a voice in the matter. He urged that a legate was a temporary officer only, selected to perform some particular business, at the conclusion of which his powers had always ceased, and warned him of the consequences if he allowed this innovation. He concluded one of his communi-

cations from Lambeth to Henry, then in France, by imploring "that your poor people be not pyled (pillaged) nor oppressed with divers exactions and unaccustomed demands, through which they should be more feeble to refuse you, our liege lord, in time of need."

The appeal was promptly responded to by the conqueror of Agincourt, and he made his uncle understand that he could not hold his see with his papal distinctions, adding that he would rather have seen him wearing his own crown than the red hat. The obnoxious legatine authority appears to have consequently lain dormant, as well as the dignity of cardinal.

Scarcely had the government of the infant king been formed when a quarrel seemed imminent between the duke of Gloucester (the protector) and the Cardinal Beaufort (the chancellor), arising from their rival influences. Their mutual jealousies might have produced a conflict, had not the cardinal written to the duke of Bedford, then in France, to request his presence. He answered the appeal, and a parliament was summoned to meet on the 18th of February, 1420, to take the critical position of the kingdom into consideration. The partisans of both factions were prohibited appearing in arms; so every one attended with a club; hence the assembly was called "the Parliament of Clubs." Then each of the leaders accused the other of an attempt at assassination; a committee, of which the duke of Bedford was the president, arbitrated between them, and at their recommendation the rivals shook hands and appeared reconciled.

At the head of the party in England that favoured the reform principles now was Humphrey, commonly called "the Good Duke." It was opposed by a much stronger one, led by the cardinal bishop, and the conflict between their several supporters was incessant. In the long minority that succeeded to the death of Henry V., Beaufort had opportunities for consolidating his power, of which he was not slow to avail himself. He contrived in 1424 to get himself reappointed to the important post of Lord High Chancellor, which position gave him vast political interest. He called the Pope to his assistance, who at once threw the whole weight of his influence upon Duke Humphrey, the archbishop of Canterbury, and all who differed from the cardinal. Between the Pontiff and the primate an angry correspondence ensued, and notwithstanding that the latter feed one of the cardinals liberally to support him, he found he could not withstand his rival's interest at Rome. The venerable prelate was insulted by a charge of avarice, which his clergy indignantly refuted. His defence was then taken up first by the university of Oxford, and then by the two Houses of Parliament.

The whole nation seemed interested in the quarrel of the maligned archbishop against the Pope and Cardinal Beaufort. Martin, apparently enraged by this feeling, not only threatened to institute proceedings against the primate in Rome, but determined to fulfil his intention of making Beaufort exercise the functions of *legate à latere*. There was a serious conflict impending; but the archbishop was feeble, and permitted himself to be cowed into

submission, and the doom of the Anglican Church again appeared to be sealed.

The rhymers of the time were not indifferent to the cardinal's special claims to notice. According to one—

> "The Archiebisshope of Canterbury appoynted,
> The gracious Kyng Harry the sixt be anoynted,
> Oure sovereigne lorde in the chief, who wille undirstonde,
> The cardynalle tho was on his right hande." *

At the commencement of the reign of Henry VI. an act was passed to secure the bishop of Winchester payment out of the customs of the twenty thousand marks he had lent on the security of the crown. The bishop having again become chancellor, appears to have lost no time in looking after his loan. He received the seals 6th July, 1424. In the first parliament that assembled he made as remarkable a display of his natural history as of his eloquence, when he compared himself, as a good counsellor, to an elephant, for possessing three peculiar properties—want of gall, inflexibility, and a perfect memory. He surrendered the great seal in 1426.

The mischievous domination of the Church of Rome over that of England became conspicuous on the death of Henry Bonett, archbishop of York, in October, 1425. The government desired the election of Morgan, bishop of Worcester, but the Pope, on being referred to in the usual way, answered that he had filled the vacancy by appointing Fleming, bishop of Lincoln. This interference caused great

* "On the Coronation of Henry VI."—Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," ii. 147.

excitement among both clergy and laity. The papal appointment had been suggested by Cardinal Beaufort, who pressed his party to support it; but the opposition was so violent that he was obliged to accede to a compromise. This was on the condition that one of his earnest supporters, John Kemp, should be archbishop; while another, William Gray, should succeed him as bishop of London.

Beaufort did not actually become a Prince of the Church till he quitted England after the apparent arrangement of his quarrel with the Protector. The Pope then not only declared him cardinal priest of St. Eusebius, but appointed him to an office of still greater responsibility. The papal court had become exasperated by the spread of the Wickliffe movement into Bohemia, into a renewal of those unchristian measures of repression which had cast so dark a shadow upon the papal annals. The Hussites had been persecuted, bonfires had been made of their religious writings, they had been oppressed, they had been publicly burnt; but the spirit of Wickliffe seemed to diffuse itself the more attempts were multiplied for its destruction. Now it was decided that a crusade was to be commenced against the Bohemians, and that they were to meet the fate of the Albigenses.

Beaufort was at last without question or hindrance a cardinal. There could be no fear that Henry VI. would follow the example of his father and forbid the nomination; and notwithstanding formidable opposition, he had more than sufficient influence over the royal counsels to enable him to stand his ground. Like other cardinals, he entertained higher

views, and wanted to retain the revenues of his bishopric to enable him to advance them. To show his moderation, he gave up the important post of chancellor, and did his best to conciliate some of the most influential of the English nobility. As if also to convince his countrymen that his mind was fixed on spiritual matters, he professed a desire to commence a pilgrimage, for which purpose he sent a petition to the king to leave the country.

In Calais the duke of Bedford invested him with the cardinal's hat, and he gave out that he accepted this dignity only with the object of commanding the papal force that was being organized to destroy the heretics in Bohemia. He began to distribute large sums of money in a manner likely to gain him favour with the populace. He steadily contrived to gain over friends in both houses of Parliament, and when he quitted England left active agents to work out his policy in Church and State.

Beaufort's pretensions to scholarship were not great: his exalted birth had probably been a check on arduous study in any direction; but as he had adopted the Church as a profession, he had determined to secure the advantages it offered to one in his exalted position, to their fullest extent. He set his face therefore sternly against its assailants, and was prepared to go any length for the extermination of heresy.

The papal court thus contrived to maintain an apparent supremacy in England, and the zeal and ambition of churchmen were excited by the great state enjoyed by prelates who had been rewarded by the Pope. Nevertheless, the desire of a reformation

in the Church was increased rather than diminished by the violent measures taken for its suppression. Secretly the Wickliffe books were read, and the Wickliffe opinions adopted, and the news that they had been accepted by the population of a far country against whom the fearful tragedy of the Albigenses was being acted over again, did not lessen their attachment to such doctrine, nor their detestation of its oppressors.

Notwithstanding the disturbed state of society during much of the fifteenth century and the excessive power of Rome, the pre-Lutheran reformation went on unknown, except when the constant search of the active papal agents was rewarded by new victims. The Bishops' Registers* show how eager were many of these prelates to gain the favour of the Pope by their diligence in endeavouring to root out heresy; but the quiet growth of religious sentiment in the country proves that the same intelligence which had materially helped to give a vigorous government to the Papacy, was now raising up a formidable opposition to its intolerable and unchristian despotism.

In the month of November of the year 1428, Cardinal Beaufort returned to England. A noble civic procession awaited him as he approached the metropolis, and conducted him to the episcopal palace in Southwark; but a royal proclamation put an end to the exercise of his legatine authority. The Pope, however, appreciated the advantage of having a zealous champion of royal lineage, and had appointed

* From which Fox drew much of the materials of his "Acts and Monuments."

him legate in Germany, with the command of the armament that was being organized to act against the heretics of Bohemia. The kinsman of the conquerors of Cresсy, Poitiers, and Agincourt gave, it seems, a promise of crushing victories over the Hussites. His appointment was brought before the Parliament of England when a great change had taken place in the political position of the nation. The legislature appear to have entertained the idea of the religious crusade, and voted men and money to help it, under specified contingencies. A pressing appeal for assistance from the duke of Bedford, then losing ground in France, caused the cardinal bishop to march his troops to Paris, instead of to Prague. Here he remained, however, little more than six weeks, when he was permitted to open a campaign in Bohemia.

The Pope, not finding the victories he had looked for, superseded him in the command with Cardinal Julian and a much larger force. Beaufort had received a thousand marks for taking his five hundred lances and five thousand archers to the assistance of Bedford; but after the failure of his campaign in Bohemia, he visited France again, where, in 1431, he was one of the judges who condemned Joan of Arc to death—the only Englishman, the rest being her own countrymen. This occurrence was not more glorious to him than his military services against the Hussites. The English cardinal, in 1436, was gratified with a more stately employment. He crowned Henry VI. in France, and assisted in a congress at Arras for arranging a peace between the two nations. Like Becket, he made the most of the occa-

sion for displaying his magnificence. He returned to England to renew his quarrel with his nephew, the duke of Gloucester. They accused each other of high crimes: the churchman was denounced for procuring papal bulls, for dishonest appropriations, and for a disloyal usurpation of authority; the layman was at first sought to be destroyed by an accusation of witchcraft against his duchess.*

The cardinal was associated with the archbishop of Canterbury in directing the extraordinary trial of the duchess of Gloucester for witchcraft. The primate refrained from taking any share in the judicial proceedings. It was clearly established not only that the black art was practised at this time, but that priests were often had recourse to as adepts. Such was the popular Friar Bungay; such were Richard Walker, a Worcestershire priest, and Thomas Southwick, a canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster. Dame Eleanor had employed a wizard named Roger Bolingbroke, but his magic apparatus had been consecrated by Southwick.

In "The Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester," the court of inquiry is thus described:—

> "I come before the spiritualité,
> Two cardynals and byshoppis fyve,
> And oder men of gret degré,
> Examined me of alle my lyffe."†

The marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of

* In February 1447 the duke was arrested on a charge of high treason and committed to prison, where he was shortly afterwards found dead, leaving a weight of suspicion on the cardinal's memory that his ablest advocates have attempted in vain to remove.

† Wright, "Political Poems and Songs," ii. 207.

Anjou the cardinal promoted as a means of securing the desired peace. He was active in the negotiations that preceded the union; and the more to show his good will, presented a gold ring given him by Henry V., which the latter wore when crowned at Paris, to form a wedding-ring for the bride.

A prosecution was attempted against him on the charge of having accepted a papal dignity without permission from the Crown, and he was required to surrender the revenues of Winchester, said to have been illegally appropriated by him since he became a cardinal; but he contrived to escape the penalties of *præmunire*. In 1432 he had been relieved by a bill of indemnity. He was allowed to resume his seat in the privy council, though prohibited from attending whenever the Pope's affairs should be under discussion, and to retain his bishopric on guaranteeing not to act contrary to the king's interests.

The cardinals were extremely indignant at the proceedings of the council at Basle. This assembly came to the conclusion that a reformation of the priesthood was imperative; and at the same time (1435) passed stringent resolutions against the papal methods of raising money from the faithful. As the regular incomes of the members of the Sacred College were paid out of the pontifical revenues, the latter could not easily be brought to sanction the abolition of annates, and many of the festivals. Eugenius IV., therefore, stoutly protested against such innovations, and more stoutly when, in 1439, an imperial edict confirmed the resolutions of the council. This pontiff was shortly unpleasantly made aware that

this assembly were his masters. They deposed him —moreover they elected in his place Amadeus, earl of Savoy, who assumed the title of Felix V. The old Roman policy was found equal to the emergency. Skilfully Cardinal Julian and the leaders of his party carried out their plans.

At general councils all the Princes of the Church usually attended, and many took part in their discussions. One was called by Eugenius IV. at Florence in 1438, for the purpose of arranging, if possible, the differences in doctrine and discipline that existed between the Greek and Roman churches. On one side were ranged the Pope, several cardinals, and numerous distinguished prelates; on the other, the Patriarch, with his metropolitans, and the Emperor, John Palæologus. Both parties were received by the Gonfaloniere, Cosmo de' Medici, and the citizens of Florence, with the most impressive marks of consideration, and were entertained munificently. The Emperor was in a serious temporal difficulty, the Turks threatening to dispossess him of his dominions; so the hope of securing help for the empire made the minds of the Greek theologians unusually flexible; they accepted doctrines they had hitherto opposed, and acknowledged Eugenius to be head of the Universal Church. When, however, it became apparent that no combination in their favour was likely to free the empire from the infidels, not only the Greek prelates who had kept away from the council repudiated the union that had there been effected, but those who had consented to such an arrangement protested against it on their return to Constantinople.

The visit of the Greeks to Italy was not without advantage to the Italians, for it diffused a taste for Greek literature and scholarship, that Cosmo de' Medici encouraged in an enlightened and munificent spirit. Prominent among the earnest students by whom he was assisted was a learned priest, Tomaso Calandrino, whose attainments were so remarkable that they attracted the attention of the pontifical court. He was appointed a member of the Sacred College, and soon so completely secured the respect as well as admiration of the cardinals, that at the first vacancy they elected him Pope. He assumed the appellation of Nicholas V.

Nicholas V. was one of the few pontiffs of whom Rome has reason to be proud. Instead of seeking to uphold the faith of which he was the acknowledged chief authority on earth, by the pronunciation of dogmas that had no source in the Scriptures, and could gain no support from any other manifestation of intelligence, he was indefatigable in affording the religious student the solid advantages of pre-Christian knowledge. For eight years he collected the treasures of classical literature. Five thousand MSS. of the most esteemed authors of Greece and Rome laid the foundation of the Vatican Library, while they afforded to the clerical scholar far more reliable appeals to the convictions of the laity than have resulted from all the persecutions attempted since the foundation of the Romish church.

In the year 1439 Cardinal Beaufort proceeded to France to negotiate a peace between England and France, with the duchess of Burgundy. They,

however, were not only to be ambassadors to represent the two countries; they were to act as mediators in their rival claims. There was a magnificent embassy sent on the part of the king of England, headed by John Kemp, archbishop of York, and the earl of Stafford. Another, equally splendid, was sent by the king of France; among whom were the archbishop of Rheims and the Comte Vendôme. The proceedings opened on the 6th of July, within seven miles of Calais, in pavilions handsomely provided for the occasion. That of the cardinal was magnificent, but still more stately was himself; for he had taken unusual pains to make a display worthy of the occasion. The duchess was simple in her attire; but the ladies in her train, including the Princess of Navarre, were apparelled with extraordinary splendour. Cardinal Beaufort met them between the two pavilions, and having embraced his niece, gallantly led her to the place of assembly, where he seated the duchess and the princess on a stately couch covered with cloth of gold. The preliminary business was gone through, after which the court adjourned. On the next day the cardinal was interrupted at his dinner by the bishop of Tournay, who complained of the intolerable language employed in the English commission, and on the part of the French embassy refused to proceed further with the negotiations.

After long discussions, new commissions were made out, in which the offensive expressions, apparently claiming France by right of conquest, were altered. The ceremonious meeting of the cardinal and the duchess had to be repeated, and the amended

credentials of the ambassadors read over again. Then the English advocate dwelt on a certain prophecy of St. Bridget, and the French on a counter-prophecy of Peter the Hermit. It presently appeared that the French desired a renunciation on the part of the king of England of any territorial claim on their country. This the English representative declined to sanction.

The cardinal gave a sumptuous refection in his pavilion to the embassies, and the duchess as pleasant an entertainment in her own. Private conferences took place between them, but the treaty did not advance a step. On the 11th of July a legate from the council of Basle, then sitting, presented himself, charged with a commission to establish a peace between the two countries. He was bishop of Vicq, in Catalonia; but neither party seemed inclined to accept his services as peacemaker. The council of Basle ostensibly were church reformers: this fact did not recommend their interference to the cardinal, and the bishop of Vicq in a set oration abused the Pope, for which he got well scolded by the archbishop of York.

The Catalonian bishop made nothing of his mission; nor did the English ambassadors make more of theirs. The successes of the French made their representatives continually rise in their demands; and when their capital was reconquered, they withdrew from the place of conference. After a stormy voyage across the Channel, the cardinal and the discomfited members of his embassy returned to London on the 9th of October.*

* Barante, "Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne."

He had now to struggle in the whirlpool of political intrigue at home, and as he distinguished himself by his vehement championship of abuses in Church and State, he remained generally an object of hostility to the leaders of the popular party. But he was careless of applause, public or private. He was ambitious, but it was not in England that he desired the first place; he was avaricious, but it was neither kindred, nor friends, nor country, he desired to aggrandise.

It was again a glorious time in Rome; the cardinals were jubilant, the Pope omnipotent, relics were in greater request than ever, and there was a lively demand for releases from purgatory and pardons for sin. Nothing could be more flourishing than the state of the Roman court, and they feasted and made merry in a spirit that snapped its fingers at remonstrance or complaint. There was no fear of either affecting the interests of the orthodox Church. Occupation was afforded those powers that might give trouble to the Papacy, by wars in which, though thousands of good Catholics were slaughtered, the patrimony of St. Peter remained undisturbed.

The troublesome Germans were threatened by the French on one side and the Turks on the other, and the Emperor was solicitous for papal support. The court of Rome laughed at the council of Basle, and Cardinal Carvajal having ingeniously made away with the original agreements that had been entered into with the Bohemians, the court of Rome ignored the treaty. While this glorious state of things existed in the capital, the cardinals were

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treated with one of those spectacles that afforded the most gratifying evidence of the supremacy of the Pope.

The Emperor and Empress were crowned at Rome in 1452. The capture of Constantinople the following year, and the necessity of preaching a new crusade against the victorious Turks, gave serious occupation to the Princes of the Church. Still the great source of their trouble continued to be the Bohemians. It was in vain that pope after pope, assisted by a most devoted body of cardinals, used every engine for their destruction, broke engagements, and set treaties at defiance, declaring that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The Hussites revived. War in Germany became as chronic as it had previously been in Italy; but the council were detached from the powerful party that had befriended the reformation; the members of the Sacred College were indefatigable in their efforts to win over the German negotiators, eventually triumphed, and Felix was forced to abdicate.

When this pontiff resumed his secular rank as earl of Savoy, Nicholas V. undertook the responsibilities of the Papacy, under circumstances that appeared to prognosticate the unrestricted exercise of its supremacy. The cardinals had a right to congratulate themselves on the flourishing state of the Church. In consequence of internal dissensions, cleverly fomented, the threatened reformation had been averted, and the most formidable heresy that had ever existed had entirely collapsed. Rome exercised unchallenged a spiritual domination over the Christian world.

A new element now appeared, to influence the

human mind. The Pope and cardinals had proved themselves too strong for the reformation that had commenced by preaching; a wondrous mechanical invention was soon to play a prominent part in the contest. The Princes of the Church learned that a German had discovered the means of multiplying MSS. without limit. It was acknowledged to be extremely ingenious; but the churchmen must have laughed at the notion of the invention superseding the labours of the illuminator. Not one entertained the idea that the printers at Mayence were far more dangerous reformers than the preachers of Bohemia.

There is no doubt that at this period the lower classes in England suffered severely from the exactions of both laymen and priests. There was little security for either property or life; the servants and lower officials of great men oppressing the weak, and on very slight provocation resorting to blows or imprisonment. Shakspeare has not exaggerated the robbery and tyranny thus exercised when he makes a petitioner to the Lord Protector, in answer to a question from Queen Margaret, state—

"Mine is, an't please your Grace, against John Goodman, my lord cardinal's man, for keeping my house, and lands, and wife, and all, from me."*

If the complainant was suspected of entertaining the opinions of Wickliffe, such a disposition of his property by an over-zealous agent was almost a matter of course.

The disturbed state of society, caused by social and religious agitation, at last produced the insurrection of Jack Cade, which the cardinal bishop exerted

* "King Henry VI.," part ii. scene 3.

all his influence to quell. According to Holinshed, in company with the archbishop of Canterbury, he "passed the river of Thames from the Tower into Southwark," where the insurgents had assembled in prodigious force, "bringing, under the king's seal, a general pardon unto all the offenders, which they caused to be openly proclaimed and published. Lord!" adds the chronicler, "how glad the poor people were of this pardon (yea, more than of the great jubilee of Rome), and how they accepted the same, insomuch that the whole multitude, without bidding farewell to their captain, retired the same night, every man to his own home, as men amazed and stricken with fear."

Among the powerful friends Cardinal Beaufort won over to his party was John Stafford, who, through his patronage, obtained offices of the highest trust in Church and State. "The rich cardinal" gained the favour of the government by lending large sums of money for the king's use: these amounted to £11,302. 16*s*. 1*d*.* While engaged in amassing a fortune, he spent a considerable portion of it with a munificent spirit. Such were the expenses he incurred in realizing the designs for Winchester Cathedral, left incomplete by William of Wykeham, and in restoring Hyde Abbey. His charities and benefactions were of a princely character, especially his share in the foundation of St. Cross,† which he almost entirely rebuilt, and found funds for the support of thirty-five additional brothers, two chaplains, and three nurses.

* "Acts of Privy Council," ii. 146.

† Gough, "Vetusta Monumenta," ii.

Cardinal Beaufort gained nothing by the removal of his rival, but the hatred of all who appreciated the virtues of "the good Duke Humphrey;" he gained nothing by his intrigues with the court of Rome, for less than two months after the death of his supposed victim his own career was brought to a close, on the 14th of June, 1447.

The "rich cardinal" maintained his reputation for munificence to the last. He died two days after completing his last testament, and was buried with a ceremonial worthy of his fame in the beautiful chantry of his cathedral, where is his statue in his cardinal robes and hat.

His enormous wealth was bequeathed for what is called "pious uses"—a grand effort to bribe the judgment he seems to have feared he had incurred; but the repressive system in which he had been so active an agent was slowly exciting a reaction that eventually swept away many of these evidences of his excessive solicitude for his soul's welfare. The later Reformation suppressed his oratories. His life indicates no real belief in the faith he professed; the page of history dwells on his magnificence, but is silent on his virtues. As a cardinal he established a sufficient repute in the papal annals; as a Christian, "he dies and leaves no sign."

Cardinal Beaufort's town palace was at Southwark, adjoining the church of St. Mary Overies, to which he was a liberal benefactor. There took place the marriage of his niece Jane to James I., king of Scotland. In commemoration of the cardinal's munificence in rebuilding the church, his coat of arms—England and France quarterly, surmounted by the

cardinal's hat, were carved in stone on a pillar in the south cross aisle. This historical memorial was renewed when that portion of the edifice was rebuilt.*

Notwithstanding these evidences of a noble spirit, the cardinal bishop left behind him a most unenviable character. Among all who had imbibed the new opinions in religion his memory was detested for pride and persecution, while those who were liberal in politics regarded him as sternly opposed to any changes for the benefit of the community at large. From this cause it is that the chroniclers of this and the following generation have rivalled each other in attempting to render him odious to posterity; and Shakspeare, taking the general impression, has damned him to everlasting fame as ambitious, intolerant, and greedy.

But Hall appears to have been particularly prejudiced, describing him as "more noble in blood than notable in learning, hard in stomach and high in countenance, rich above measure of all men, and to few liberal: disdainful to his kin and dreadful to his lovers; preferring money before friendship; many things beginning and nothing performing. His covetous, insatiable spirit, and hope of long life, made him both to forget God, his prince, and himself in his later days; for Dr. John Baker, his privy counsellor and his chaplain, wrote that he, lying on his deathbed, said these words:—

"'Why should I die, having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it. Fie! will not death be hired, nor will money do nothing?

* "Notes and Queries," iii. 169.

When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel; but when I saw my other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal with kings, and so thought to increase my treasure in hope to have worn *a triple crown;* but I see now the world fadeth me, and so I am deceived. Praying you all to pray for me.'"*

If true, this is a remarbable acknowledgment,—one perfectly in accordance with his policy since he had become a churchman,—a policy shared by all prelates who chose to come forward prominently in that great theatre of intrigue, the papal court. Here his enormous wealth was expected to be all-powerful to gain influence. He may have forgotten himself, his country, and his God, according to the chronicler, but it is quite clear that he never forgot Rome.

In a poem written about 1449, "On the Popular Discontent at the Disasters in France," there occurs this reference:—

> "Cardinalle
> Iclosed we have oure welevette hatte,
> That keveryd us from mony stormys browne."†

There is another in a "Poem on Bishop Boothe"—

> "God kepe our kyng ay, and grate hym by grace,
> Save him fro Southfolke and from his foois alle,
> The Pole is so parlous men for to passe,
> That fewe can escape hit of the banck realle,
> But set under suger he shewithe hem galle;
> Witness of Humfrey, Henry, and John,‡
> Which late were one lyne, and now be they goon."

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* Chronicle.

† Wright, "Political Poems and Songs," ii. 221.

‡ The duke of Gloucester, the cardinal Beaufort, and the duke of Bedford.

The following letter from the cardinal shows the disposition of a portion of his wealth. We print it in the original orthography, as edited by one of the most careful of modern historical scholars, from the original preserved among the Cottonian MSS. :—

"Trusty and welle belovid. I grete zow herttely well, and I pray zow that ze wlle goo, and W. Toly, my clerk berer of thys, with zowe, to the coffre that my monoye is inne, and take ij M. and c c c marc, and take hit the forsayde Toly, and lette seele the cofir azeyn with a signet of myn, gravin with the salutacion of our Lady, the whyche my seide clerk haht.

"Wrytyn of myn owne hand at London the xii day of Marche.

"H. CARDINAL OF ENGELAND."*

There is another letter extant written by Beaufort just after his reconciliation with the duke of Gloucester, and before he was created a cardinal. It is addressed "To the King my Sovereign Lord":—

"Beseech your Humble Chaplain Henry, Bishop of Winchester: that forasmuch as he standeth and long hath stood bound under a vow of certain pilgrimages beyond sea, having of the said pilgrimages right great charge and conscience, forasmuch as he hath long deferred to perform them, considered if it like your Highness your said humble chaplain's long continuance in your service, which his intention hath been at all times to do, with all truth and diligence to his little power. Like it your noble Grace,

* Sir Henry Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i. 8.

by the advice of your Council, to grant your licence unto your said humble Chaplain, he at his own freedom and liberty, by sufficient warrant to be made him thereupon unto your Chancellor, by your letter of Privy Seal, for to now pass the sea in performing of the said vow, and that at such time and place and with such seasonable fellowship as he shall think good and necessary."

There was a portrait of the cardinal on an altar tablet in the possession of Horace Walpole, described by him in a letter to Dr. Lord, 4th June, 1779, as having come from the abbey of Bury.

CHAPTER V.

JOHN KEMP, CARDINAL BISHOP.

Studies Ecclesiastical Law—engaged as Counsel against Lord Cobham—sent as Ambassador to the King of Arragon—becomes successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, and Lord Chancellor—then Archbishop of York—His Installation—His Mission to the Council at Basle—goes to Arras—Chivalrous Festivities—Fruitless Negotiations—is created a Cardinal—Pope Eugenius on the Dignity of Cardinals—Cardinal Kemp endeavours to reform abuses in the Church—His Warlike Proceedings in the North—founds a College at Wye—Its Statutes—His Divinity Schools at Oxford—is again Chancellor—Popular Discontent—is appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and *Legate à Latere*—Degradation of the Anglican Church—His Donations at Canterbury—An Appeal for the Pope—retires to Lambeth—His Property at his decease.

THERE is a pleasant place called Olanteigh, nearly a mile from the Wye, and on the banks of the river Stour, in the county of Kent. Here it was John Kemp was born, in the year 1380, and having secured the necessary amount of schooling, proceeded to Merton College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship, and took the degree of LL.D., intending apparently to seek the law, as practised in the ecclesiastical courts, as a profession. He held modest preferments,—a rectory in the city of London, and a living in Southwick, Sussex. He was engaged as

counsel against Lord Cobham,* and appears to have pressed the reformer rather hard. His services on this occasion recommended him to Archbishop Chichele, who, after appointing him dean of the Court of Arches and his vicar-general, introduced him to the king.

In the same year, 1415, he was sent abroad to arrange a treaty of peace with the king of Arragon. With various other employments he obtained the archdeaconry of Durham about the year 1418, and in the following year the see of Rochester.

The tide of prosperity now flowed in with a force only experienced by special favourites of fortune; for in the next two or three years Henry V. made him keeper of the privy seal and chancellor of Normandy. In 1421 he was translated to the bishopric of Chichester, only before the year was out to be transferred to that of London. His consecration to the latter see took place on the 20th of May, 1422.

He lost his royal patron, but was appointed a member of the council of his successor. He now resigned the seal of Normandy, and was employed in different missions to the duke of Bedford, regent of France, and subsequently to Scotland to negotiate the liberation of the Scottish king. His next official appointment was that of Lord High Chancellor, in which he succeeded his friend Beaufort. Henry VI. was an infant, and the duty of this great officer of the crown was to wait on his sovereign and receive the seals from his baby hands. This ceremony was managed without much difficulty.

* See *antè*, p. 80.

In October, 1423, the death of Henry Bowett, archbishop of York, made another elevation easy to him. He caused his installation to be conducted with extraordinary splendour; but though he expended money with a liberal hand, he was not cordially accepted by his clergy. His occupations about the court and his embassies abroad prevented his making friends amongst them, which might have been the case, had he been a resident, notwithstanding he had been thrust into the see against their wish. His duty at the council was arduous and embarrassing, with the conflicting interests to deal with of the young king's uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. Then he had to bring forward measures for the consideration of Parliament,—in short, take the lead in the government of the country, under the auspices of his friend Cardinal Beaufort.

He resigned the great seals on the 5th of February, 1432, and in the following year was despatched on a mission to the council, still sitting at Basle, then engaged in a contest with Pope Eugenius IV., in which they had excommunicated each other. England had supported Martin V., who died in 1431, but does not appear to have displayed any decided interest in his successor. Archbishop Kemp, having received his instructions, travelled to the place of meeting, attended by a retinue of two hundred noblemen and knights in gallant array. Arrived at Basle, they were received with due honour; but the council refused to allow England to be represented as a nation. The ambassador then proceeded to negotiate with France. A friendly meeting was arranged to take place between a select body sent by each of the bel-

ligerents, under the auspices of the duke of Burgundy, who, as the ally of England, was expected greatly to expedite the proceedings. The archbishop with his retinue proceeded to the place of meeting. He was joined by Cardinal Beaufort at Arras, where they met the duke of Burgundy and a very gallant company.

Presently the duke of Bourbon and a select portion of the chivalry of France approached the town, and the Englishmen noted the very cordial reception they received from the Burgundians. All, however, had assembled to promote peace, and nothing but the most amicable demonstrations prevailed. The busy manufacturing town became thronged with a courtly multitude of knights and ladies, for whose entertainment there was given a tournament, in which the gallantry of each nation was permitted to display itself in conflicts of horse and foot. Bright armour, gay cognizances, and picturesque costumes gave the scene a most brilliant aspect. Afterwards there was feasting, with music and dancing, the gallant company became livelier, and the scene brighter than ever. The cardinal and the archbishop were necessarily spectators only of the knightly jousting; but among the two hundred gallant gentlemen of England who accompanied them were Sir William de la Pole earl of Suffolk, Sir Walter Lord Hungerford, Sir John Ratcliff, and many good men and true, with whose chivalrous accomplishments the French knights were already well acquainted. They distinguished themselves at the barriers, as well as in the saloon; but though they had no reason to complain of

want of attention, they could not help observing marks of an unusually good understanding displayed by the dukes of Burgundy and of Bourbon. It soon made itself manifest that the former favoured the French. This at last was done so openly, that the archbishop indignantly withdrew with all his retinue. Scarcely had they departed, when a treaty of alliance was concluded between their good ally the duke of Burgundy and their "adversary of France," Charles of Valois.

When Archbishop Kemp returned home, it was to meet a storm of popular indignation for the fruitless result of his mission. It appeared, however, as though as a negotiator he was again to be unsuccessful; for in a second imposing ceremonial of the same nature, that took place in the year 1439, already described,* the result was deemed scarcely more advantageous. Nevertheless, while at Calais he contrived to arrange a treaty with Flanders. This was not considered of sufficient importance to weigh against his failures, and much opprobrium was heaped upon him by the patriotic party, headed by the duke of Gloucester, particularly for having advised the king to relinquish temporarily his title of king of France.

The archbishop had steadily supported his patron Cardinal Beaufort in his efforts to establish the supremacy in England of the Church of Rome, and his co-operation in the spiritual subjection of his country was now to receive its reward. Eugenius IV. in December, 1439,† nominated John Kemp a car-

* See *antè*, p. 98.

† Ciaconius, ii. 1132. Cardella, iii. 71. These authorities state that he was included in the third creation of Eugenius IV.

dinal priest by the title of St. Balbina. This distinction was not more agreeable to the archbishop of Canterbury than had been the elevation of the bishop of Winchester, and became more objectionable when the new Prince of the Church claimed precedence in the House of Lords. But this venerable prelate was now little disposed for contention, and readily consented to refer the question to the judgment of the Pope. He decided it by directing the primate to give place to the cardinal.

In a letter written by Pope Eugenius IV. to Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, 1439, to reconcile him to the superiority of Cardinal Kemp, there occur some surprising historical allusions to the dignity of Princes of the Church. They are represented to be the venerable priests mentioned by Moses in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, subsequently instituted by St. Peter, and are to be regarded as members of the Pope's body, and the hinges on which the Church turned. The Pontiff stated that as every archbishop directs the clergy of his own province, the cardinals preside over the universal Church.*

In the performance of the cardinal's archiepiscopal functions, there is little that calls for comment, except the publication of "a constitution," in which he endeavoured to correct certain abuses practised by rich ecclesiastics. One was the purchase of the property of minor religious establishments, and their suppression or absorption into the institution directed by the purchaser. He accuses abbots and priors of selling the property attached to their houses, of leaving them in debt, of appropriating the money

* On the privileges of cardinals consult Moroni.

to their own use, and of neglecting to provide the religious services for which the house was founded. He directed that such sales should be null and void. Clerical profligates and idlers he admonished, and threatened with suspension.*

A curious picture in ecclesiastical life has been given to the public in a volume issued by the Camden Society. There the archbishop figures as a distinguished member of the Church militant, maintaining an armed force in the town of Ripon for three years, that plundered with little discrimination and less mercy. This warfare was the result of a dispute that commenced in 1441 between the cardinal archbishop and the tenants of the Forest of Knaresborough; it occasioned a suit at law, pending which, the suitors assumed the character of belligerents. The complaints of the Yorkshiremen against their prelate were loud and fierce; for lives were lost in the quarrel, as well as money and goods. The earl of Northumberland supported the men of the north; but the king and the privy council took the part of the archbishop. The dispute was by them referred to arbitration, and the earl made to recompense the cardinal for all loss and damage inflicted on him.†

The influence of the cardinal archbishop with the government is sufficiently shown in a proclamation of the king sent into the disturbed district, in which all statements against him are stigmatized as false, and his opponents are termed "sons of iniquity."

* Wilkins, "Concilia," iii. 668.

† "Plumpton Correspondence." Rymer, "Fœdera," v. 120. "Acts of Privy Council," 273-5-6, and 309.

Notwithstanding the denunciation in his "Constitutions," of the alienation of church property, he purchased from the abbot of Battle a piece of land, and a mill to add to his private domain at Olanteigh, where he resided in the latter years of his life whenever he could find time to enjoy its pleasant retirement. Then it was too that he planned projects no less honourable than useful, that have rendered his name more memorable than his career.

On the 27th of February, 1431, he had obtained the royal license for founding a college at Wye, near his patrimonial property, but owing to the continual pressure upon his time, sixteen years elapsed before he had completed the statutes and affixed to them his seal. Unfortunately for the duration of his foundation, he attached it to Battle Abbey, having first purchased from that wealthy monastery the advowson of the vicarage and the land on which his college was to be erected. He prayed the community to favour his intention of giving additional daily worship of God, out of respect for himself and his buried ancestors; and having secured their consent, commenced building.

The statutes, drawn up by the cardinal himself, contain some curious provisions, illustrative of monastic manners and customs about the middle of the fifteenth century. Competency in grammar learning and singing was insisted on; every fellow was to be fined a halfpenny for non-attendance at divine service, while truant choristers were to be punished with the rod. Latin was to be exclusively spoken, except when visitors were present; the members of the college were only permitted to en-

tertain travellers, but might extend their hospitality in moderation. No woman of questionable reputation was to be admitted; and of the other sex only persons who came with an honest purpose. The community were forbidden to hunt or gamble; they were to wear a dark habit, and all to dress as nearly alike as possible. Six marks in money were to be allowed to each, as well as clothes, diet, and lodging; and the master of the grammar-school, though he was to teach gratis, might receive on St. Nicholas's day gifts of cocks, to be put up to be thrown at with sticks, at a penny a throw; he was also permitted to take private pupils.

The cardinal erected a new parish church, with stalls in the chancel for the fellows, which is still standing; of his college not a trace remains.

Kemp's first chancellorship lasted for six years; he resigned the seals 25th of February, 1432; accepted them again nearly eighteen years afterwards, January 31st, 1450, on the discharge of Archbishop Stafford—a busy year for him, for it was the year of the rebellion of Jack Cade, and was a period of great excitement, on account of the rivalry of the York and Lancaster factions. The cardinal contrived to fill his onerous office with the same ability which had distinguished his rule over two archbishoprics and three bishoprics, including two apparent cardinalates—a rare accumulation of preferments in a person of obscure birth.

The cardinal archbishop contributed five hundred marks to assist in founding the divinity schools at Oxford, for which the doctors and professors were made to express their gratitude in a Latin prayer

for the peace of the souls of himself and his nephew Thomas, who became bishop of London in 1450.* It was in this year that, at the earnest desire of the queen, he resumed the onerous office of Lord High Chancellor, and at her solicitation exerted himself strenuously to protect the duke of Suffolk, who was threatened with the fate of a traitor for not having prevented the recent loss of French territory. The chancellor tried to save him from the fury of the Parliament by ordering him into banishment, but without avail. He was seized while attempting to cross the Channel, and decapitated on the edge of the boat.

The formidable insurrection of Jack Cade gave the chanceller ample and anxious employment in providing against it. Its suppression was not effected without great difficulty, after which he rode with the king and the duke of Somerset to hold the great assize at Rochester, on the 12th of September, for the punishment of the leaders.

Graver troubles came upon the country in the following year, and brought increased peril to himself and the king and queen: the loss of nearly all that proud accession of territory which had been won by Englishmen under the heroic Edward III., his famous son the Black Prince, and more recently by the gallant Henry V., made the nation frantic. The royal family and the court were extremely unpopular, and the duke of York, the next in the succession, backed by a powerful party, only waited a favourable opportunity for getting rid of them.

In the year 1452, at the death of Archbishop

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford," ii. 779.

Stafford, the cardinal was translated from York to Canterbury, on the 21st of July. This elevation in the Anglican Church was followed by another in Rome. He was created cardinal bishop of St. Rufina, and nominated *legate à latere*.

Since the election of Martin V. the papal government had continued the usual course of domination over the Anglican, and with its present head it was well aware that it might proceed to any length in that direction it pleased. Bull after bull therefore was prepared, in which the complete subserviency of the one to the other was insisted on, as established; while, "to make assurance doubly sure," the primate of all England was required to take an oath acknowledging this position, and promising to maintain this assumed right of the Church of Rome to the full extent of his power, promising also to prosecute heretics, and to visit "the threshold of the Apostles" by himself or by deputy every year.

Having duly taken this oath to the Pope, the cardinal archbishop took another to the king of a totally different character. In the first he swore to maintain "the regality of St. Peter," in the other he acknowledged that he held his archbishopric of the king only. On the 11th of December he was enthroned in Canterbury cathedral, in the presence of the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and others of his suffragans.

The monks of Canterbury received him with more favour than had been shown him by the clergy of York, but they appear to have obtained no solid advantage by his becoming their primate. It is evident that he did not prove so liberal as he was

expected to be: he gave only thirteen and fourpence to every one in holy orders, and six and eightpence to each of the others. His expenditure at Canterbury was too trifling to be worthy of record. In short, his birthplace seems to have absorbed the benefactions he created in Kent.

In the year 1453 the cardinal archbishop summoned a provincial synod to assemble in London, for the purpose of raising a subsidy from the clergy for the assistance of the king towards maintaining Aquitaine. This having been arranged, a demand was made upon them from an unexpected quarter. A papal nuncio, on a visit to the cardinal, having heard of the grant, preferred an appeal for a similar one in favour of his Holiness, who, he represented, had narrowly escaped from a conspiracy to murder him and all his cardinals. This event had so disgusted the Holy Father with Rome that he had determined to abandon it, and take up his residence wherever he might be certain of liberal support. Such an insinuation was perfectly understood by the members of the synod, but they evidently did not appreciate its intended compliment. They made courteous replies to the clever Italian, and, doubtless infinitely to his disgust, sent him away empty-handed.

In his office as chancellor his judgments occasionally caused his name to be detested. "Afterward my wife was soure deal eased by the labour of the warden of the Fleet, for the cursed Cardinal had sent her to Newgate; God forgive his soul!" John Paston's malediction was caused by his wife having been committed for contempt of court; but

heavier complaints might have been raised against him by offenders who had been more severely punished by his adverse judgments.

He was daily getting more unpopular in London, and as he lived in perilous times, he removed, as a place of greater safety, on the 4th of January, 1454, to his manor-house at Lambeth. Here he was followed by a deputation from the merchants of London and Calais, who cried so loudly and so fiercely for justice, that, according to a contemporary chronicler, "the chancellor was so dismayed that he could not say anything more to them for fear." *

He prepared for the worst by turning his house into a fortress and arming his servants; but a worst was coming for which he could make no adequate preparation. The cardinal archbishop fell sick in February, and on the 24th of March he expired. The king was recovering from the severe indisposition with which he had lately been afflicted, and on being told the news, declared "Then one of the wisest lords in all this land is dead."

By the inventory of his property, taken after his decease, we find that he died worth £4,069. 18*s.* 8*d.* in plate, linen, vestments, and ecclesiastical furniture, including £98. 16*s.* 8*d.* for service books, and £263. 18*s.* 10*d.* for books on theology and on canon and civil law,—a respectable library for the middle of the fifteenth century, and by no means an unsatisfactory estimate of goods and chattels, even for the primate of all England and the first minister of the Crown. This, however, does not give

* "Paston Letters," i. 179.

anything like the value of what he died possessed. The archbishop and chancellor had not neglected the opportunities he had had of enriching himself; and although the contents of his coffers had flowed to Rome in a liberal stream, enough remained to enrich his kindred.

CHAPTER VI.

THOMAS BOURCHIER, CARDINAL PRIEST.

Governing Families in the Church—Bourchier Chancellor at Oxford—Clerical Preferments—is appointed Bishop of Worcester—then of Ely—Elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury—His Indulgences—He is created a Cardinal—becomes a Reformer of Clerical Abuses—Bishop Pecock and his Writings—His Condemnation by Archbishop Bourchier—His Recantation and public Burning of his Books—The Sequel—Ecclesiastical Feasting—Yorkists and Lancastrians—Sir John Fastolf—Letter to him from the Archbishop—Reconciliation of the rival Factions—He joins the Yorkist Force—tries to befriend the King—crowns the Duke of York—is again created a Cardinal—Ambassador to the Court of France—Pilgrimage to Canterbury—Printing—The Queen in Sanctuary—Richard III.—Marriage and Coronation of Henry VII.—The Cardinal dies at Knowle.

THOMAS BOURCHIER was the son of one of Henry V.'s knights of the same name, created by his kinsman, the conqueror of Agincourt, earl of Ewe, in Normandy. The earl was grandson of Edward III., and married Ann, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock (the heroic king's sixth son), when the widow of Edmund, earl of Stafford. She was also eldest sister and one of the co-heirs of Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Buckingham. Such a lineage insured to its possessor at this period a noble career in any profession. In the Church, as we have already shown, it was a re-

commendation to the highest dignities. So much was this the case in England, that scions of the great families monopolized the most desirable episcopates. This excited the admiration of Fuller.

"I know not," he wrote, "what generous planet had then influence on the court of Rome. This I know that England never saw such a concurrence of noble prelates, who, as they were peers by their places, were little less by their descent. I behold their birth, a good buttress of episcopacy in that age, able in parliament to check and crush any anti-prelatical project by their own relations."*

The generous planet at the papal court, when these governing families were permitted to accumulate the best preferments, to the disadvantage of the more earnest divine or the better scholar with fewer influential connections, or none at all, shone with the same yellow lustre that had illumined the path to ecclesiastical distinction at Rome from time immemorial.

In due course young Bourchier was sent to pursue his studies at Nevill Hall, Oxford, one of five halls that stood on the site of Corpus Christi College. He obtained the office of chancellor somewhere near 1435, when about thirty years old; but he had previously distinguished himself among the leading men of the university, and had

* "Worthies of England." Fuller enumerates among the contemporaries of Bourchier—the primates of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Salisbury (2), Exeter, Norwich, Llandaff, Durham, and Carlisle, as scions of the Stafford, Neville, Fitz-Hugh, Beaufort, Gray of Codnor, Lumley, Beauchamp and Woodville, Courteney, Zouch, Dudley, and Percy families.

obtained clerical preferment, a prebend in Lichfield cathedral in May, 1424, and the deanery of St. Martin's le Grand, London, four years later. The last appointment was the head of an ancient college for secular canons, with extraordinary privileges, that had been so grossly abused, that the establishment was extremely unpopular with the citizens. He obtained a second prebend,—West Thurrock, in Hastings, in the year 1432, and became a prebend in Lincoln church and Master of Arts the year following.*

This was already excellent provision for the young priest; but he had friends at court ready to seize the first opportunity of placing him in a more exalted position. There occurred a vacancy in the see of Worcester, which the Pope filled without reference to the English Church or the English government. The king therefore was induced, at the suggestion of the lower house of Parliament, to request the chapter to elect his kinsman, Thomas Bourchier, for "the cunning and virtues that rest in his person," as well as for his "honest conversation;" at the same time a royal remonstrance was addressed to the Pontiff, Eugenius IV., who accepted a compromise which sufficiently maintained the papal authority. The Pope's nominee, Thomas Bronus, dean of Salisbury, was appointed bishop of Rochester, and Worcester was given to Bourchier, who was consecrated on the 15th of May, 1436.†

His temporal rank made him aspire to much higher ecclesiastical distinction; and vacancies occurring one after another, he first endeavoured to get

* Bentham, "Hist., &c., Church of Ely," 173. † Ibid.

translated to Ely, and then to London. There was the usual recourse to Rome, with ample appliances, and the Pope's sanction to his acceptance of the metropolitan see was soon obtained. Too speedily, apparently, for the government disapproved of the proceeding, and threatened the penalties of *præmunire*, and he was obliged to be content with his present see, till Ely again became vacant in 1443.*

According to one authority,† he made but an indifferent prelate, and is said to have officiated in Ely cathedral only once,—at his installation. He has been accused, too, of grinding the episcopal tenants. There is very little doubt that he was more zealous as a politician than as a churchman. One of his ancestors had joined the party that opposed the government, on account of the recent disasters in France, attaching himself to Richard, duke of York, who was appointed protector of the king when Henry VI.'s indisposition became serious. Bourchier's popularity with the House of Commons increased, and at the death of Cardinal Kemp, they petitioned the king that the bishop of Ely should succeed him as primate, "for his great merits, virtues, and the great blood he comes of."

Thomas Bourchier found no difficulty in becoming archbishop of Canterbury. William Paston was an eye-witness to his homage to the king.‡ To receive

* Wharton, "Hist. de Episco. Wigorn. cont.," p. 537.

† Ibid., "Historia Eliensis," 671. Nevertheless he promulgated in his diocese some very necessary regulations, restraining monks from quitting their houses for parochial cures, preventing benefices being farmed without his consent, and insisting that there should be two witnesses to a marriage and a will.—Collier, "Eccles. Hist.," i. 674.

‡ "Paston Letters," i. 54.

worthily a primate of such exalted birth, the monks of Canterbury taxed their exchequer heavily, and his enthronization, which took place in February, 1455, was a spectacle of unusual splendour. Many of the spiritual and temporal peers graced the banquet, which was arranged on a scale of prodigal hospitality.

The contention between the Yorkists and Lancastrians threatened to break out into a sanguinary civil war. The archbishop, while striving to secure a better observance of the Lord's day and other festivals, offered forty days' indulgence for all who prayed for the extermination of the infidel, then making alarming progress in Europe, for the king's restoration to health, and for deliverance of the country from the evils with which it was menaced. To secure such privilege, every one must confess, and repeat certain religious services, or else proceed on a pilgrimage.

The Papacy at this time was in peril from the successes of the Turks, and the primate, in drawing public attention to its position, secured the favour of the Pope. In 1464* he was created a cardinal priest of St. Cyriacus in Thermis, and notice was in the same year forwarded to the English government that the Pontiff was about to arm for the defence of the papal see, and of Italy, for which purpose he desired to raise money by a tax on pluralities. This, however, he was not permitted to do in England; but the prelates were directed, in the king's name, to collect money for the use of his Holiness.†

* Godwin, "De Præsul.," p. 129.

† Wilkins, "Concilia," iii. 596.

The state of the English clergy had not improved; lax morals, idle habits, and neglect of duty, seemed on the increase. The archbishop held a visitation in his diocese, after which he addressed a pastoral letter to his clerical subordinates, in which he directed their attention to certain wicked and foolish practices he had observed. Many cared only for their personal decoration in the extravagances of fashion; many more had made themselves infamous by leading a debauched life. This was not the only occasion in which he put himself forward as a reformer of such abuses. He issued "constitutions"* equally condemnatory. But the iniquities to which he referred formed only a part of the evils produced by the existing church system. The majority of the hierarchy appeared to be equally indifferent to religion and to learning, while the monks bought and sold whenever they could get an advantage; parishes were in a dreadful state of neglect, and the universities almost deserted.

The Anglican prelates were becoming generally unpopular, as much for their subserviency to the Pope as for their neglect of their duty as preachers. Pecock, bishop of Chichester, gave a sermon in their defence at Paul's Cross in 1447; but he only drew more attention to their shortcomings, while he excited several able controversialists in both universities to answer him. Not only did the advocate

* Prominent among his good works was an attempt to restrain "Provisors," who still continued to carry on a thriving trade at Rome. The University of Oxford had suggested to the primate, as a check on the abuse, that a testimonial from the resident archdeacon should be required from every candidate for holy orders.—Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Univers. Oxford," i. 224.

suffer, but his clients also. The idleness of the bishops and their improper conduct having been sufficiently handled, the previous writings of their defender were looked into. Their opponents, sometimes called "the Bible-men," from their desire to refer to the Scriptures for their rule of life, proved that Pecock had written opinions quite as heterodox as any that had been preached by the followers of Wickliffe. In fact, it was made clearly evident that the preacher against reform was himself a reformer.

The treatise known as a "Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church," written in 1395, had produced a powerful impression on such of the Parliament and people of England, to whom it was addressed, as were able to obtain a copy of it, and stirred the churchmen into action. It was full half a century later before a reply worthy of it was attempted, and this was Bishop Pecock's "Repressor of over-much Blaming of the Clergy." There can be no dispute as to the ability displayed in this composition, nor of its illustrative value in connection with contemporary history; but instead of silencing the arguments of those who pleaded for scriptural Christianity, it rendered them more popular.

In his "Treatise on Faith" the bishop still more openly entered into controversy with the Wickliffe writers; but in so doing contrived to such an extent to encourage the consideration of their ideas, that the papal party were greatly incensed, and at a council held at Westminster near the end of the year 1457, attended by the archbishop and his suffragans, there was such an outcry raised against him, that the former commanded him to withdraw.

He was shortly afterwards summoned to appear before the primate, and his writings were handed over to twenty-four doctors for examination, who condemned them for containing many heretical opinions. John Bury, an Augustinian friar, produced an answer to them, entitled "Gladius Salamonis," at the command of the archbishop, to whom it was dedicated; indeed the churchmen generally pressed him so close, that he thought it most prudent to give way.

As a fair example of Church authority at this period, we quote Archbishop Bourchier's concluding address to the episcopal culprit:—

"Dear Brother, Master Reginald,—Since all heretics are blinded by the light of their own understandings, and will not own the perverse obstinacy of their own conclusions, we shall not dispute with you in many words (for we see that you abound more in talk than in reasoning), but briefly show you that you have manifestly presumed to contravene the sayings of the most authentic doctors. For as regards the descent of Christ into hell, the Tarentine doctor, in an inquiry of his into the three creeds, says that it was left out of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds because no heresy had then arisen against it, nor was any great question made about it. As to the authority of the Catholic Church, the doctor Augustine says: '*Unless the authority of the Church moved me, I should not believe the Gospel!*' As to the power of councils, the doctor Gregory says (and his words are placed in the Canons,—*Distinct.* XV.) that the four sacred councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon are not

less to be honoured and reverenced than the four Holy Gospels. For in them (as he asserts), as on a square corner-stone, the structure of sacred faith is raised, and in them the rule of good life and manners consists. The other doctors also say with one mouth, that although the sacred councils may err in matters of fact, yet they may not err in matters of faith, because in every general council, where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, his Holy Spirit is there in the midst of them, who does not suffer them to err in faith or to depart from the way of truth. As regards the sense and understanding of Scripture, the doctor Jerome says that whoever understands or expounds it otherwise than the meaning of the Holy Spirit requires, is an undoubted heretic. With whom agrees the Lincoln doctor (Grosstête), thus saying: 'Whoever excogitates any opinion contrary to Scripture, if he publicly teach it, and obstinately adhere to it, is to be counted for a heretic.'"

The hint was not thrown away upon the bishop of Chichester. He does not appear to have been anxious for the distinction of martyrdom; for on the following day, which was Sunday, he made a public abjuration of his opinions, one by one, in the presence of the archbishop, the bishops of London, Rochester, and Durham, and many other ecclesiastics, as well as before a multitude of twenty thousand spectators, at Paul's Cross. This having performed, he gave his works severally—three folios and eleven quartos—to the executioner, who threw them into a blazing fire made for the occasion. Probably the bishop felt a secret congratulation that his MSS.

had to perish in the conflagration instead of himself.

Though this recantation was extracted from the bishop's fears rather than from his judgment, it is much more discreditable to those who forced it from him than to himself. It is impossible to exaggerate the ignorance of his judges who caused these proceedings. They professed to place the teaching of the Church above the source of Christian doctrine; nevertheless condemned opinions which many doctors of the Church had sanctioned.*

The sequel is still more edifying. The bishop was sent to prison by the primate; he lost no time in appealing to the Pope, and so well did he employ the usual influence, that a bull was obtained for his liberation and restitution. Then the archbishop, setting himself in opposition to the authority he had been enforcing, appealed to the king, who was advised by the prelates to send an embassy to the Pontiff to withdraw his bulls; instead of which he sent a promise to Pecock that if he would resign his see, he, Archbishop Bourchier, would provide him with a competency. It appears that he accepted the offer. Having resigned Chichester, he was sent to the abbey of Thorney, in Cambridgeshire, and eleven pounds a year allowed the abbot for his maintenance, with instructions not to permit him the use of writing materials, and in other ways to treat him as a prisoner. In this incarceration the zealous

* "Repressor of over-much Blaming of the Clergy," by Reginald Pecock, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Chichester. Edited by Churchill Babington, B.D.—Introduction. Rolls Publications.

reformer remained. So apprehensive were his persecutors of his literary talent, that they denied him all books except a breviary, mass-book, psalter, a book of legends, and a Bible. He was effectually silenced; death only ended his severe imprisonment.*

On religious grounds it is not easy to find an explanation of this persecution of Bishop Pecock. As a nominated cardinal, it might be supposed that the archbishop would not risk his position at the court of Rome by such relentless opposition to one of the Pope's most eloquent advocates. It may be, however, that his social status in England made him indifferent to further papal patronage. Moreover, that his connection with his party forced him to accept the responsibility of their able opponent's persecution. It is quite true that the bishop's ideas were unpatriotic, but they were those which had long been maintained at Rome; and the ability with which he had put them forth ought to have procured for him, by a promoter of literature like the primate, a less rigorous handling.†

The higher ranks of the English clergy distinguished themselves by their prodigality, particularly in giving extravagant banquets. At the "inception" of George Neville (of Balliol College, Oxford), brother of the earl of Warwick, there was a feast that continued for two days. On the first there were six hundred messes of meat divided into three courses;

* "Life of Reynolde Pecocke, Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester," by the Rev. John Lewis: 1744.

† See "The Repressor," by Babington. "The Book of Faith," &c., was edited by the Rev. Dr. Wharton, 1688.

on the second, half the number. After so noble an entertainment nothing could be more natural than that the young Master of Arts should be appointed chancellor to the university the following year; and three years later he was bishop of Exeter, when he gave a feast that made the former appear a mere repast in comparison.* It was a new road to ecclesiastical preferment, but did not escape censure. The Anglican Church was in truth in a wretched state.

On the 7th of March, 1455, the archbishop went by water to the royal palace at Greenwich in his state barge to receive the seals; he having been appointed to the office of chancellor by the queen. He received the bags containing them, was sworn in before the king and the council, and soon afterwards returned to Lambeth. These were dangerous times even for a churchman. The Yorkists and Lancastrians came into armed conflict at St. Alban's on the 22nd of May, and the result placed the former in the ascendant. The chancellor presided in the Parliament that met on the 9th of July, and was the orator and apologist of his party. A general amnesty was easily obtained, and then he prorogued the assembly. The king recovered from his malady; in February, 1456, the duke of York's government expired, and in the October following the archbishop was required to give up the chancellorship in favour of Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, a Lancastrian.†

* Anthony Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), i. 598. Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ."

† Wharton, "Anglia Sacra."

About this time John Bokking wrote to Sir John Fastolf:—"My lord of Canterbury taketh great pain upon him daily, and will write unto you the certainty of such tidings as fall; and should have done ere this time, save for that he would know an end of the matter." * The name of this knight is, of course, sufficiently familiar to the reader, in consequence of its adoption by Shakspeare for one of the most humorous of his comic characters; but there is no other resemblance between the hero of Gad's Hill and of the buck-basket at Datchet, and the friend of Archbishop Bourchier. The primate addressed to him the following letter:—

"To the right worshipfull and my right entirely wellbeloved Sir John Fastolf, knight.

"Right worshipfull and my right entirely well beloved, I grete you right hertly well. Thanking you specialy, and in full herty wise for the verray geantle goodnesse that ye have shewid unto me, at all tymes praying you of good continuance. And as touching suche matiers as ye sente unto me fore, I truste to God verraly insomuche as the Rule† is amendid heer, and the wedder waxeth seesonable and pleasante to see you in thise parties within short tyme, at which tyme I shall comune and demeene unto you in suche wise, that ye shal be right wele pleasid. And as for the matier concerning my lord of Bedford, thinketh not contrarye but that ye shal finde me hertly wellwillid to doo that I can or may for the yaccomplesshin of youre desire, as wel in that matier as in other like as your

* "Paston Letters," i. † Alteration in the Government.

s'rvaunte John Bokking berer hereof can clierlier reporte unto you on my behalve, to whom like wit you to geve feith and credence in this p'rtie.

"And the Blissid Trinitee have you ev'lastingly in his keping.

"Written in my manoir of Lambith the XVI daie of March.

"Your feithfull and trew,

"TH. CANT."*

After parting with the seals, Archbishop Bourchier conferred with the new chancellor as to the possibility of reconciling the two parties, and in 1458 was induced to summon a council for the purpose. There was an assemblage of the principal supporters of the king and the duke of York, each with his retainers. The archbishop and the bishop of Winchester mediated between both, and an agreement honourable to each party was effected. It was sealed with the great seal on the 24th of March, 1458, and the rivals joined the next day in a solemn procession to St. Paul's. Afterwards all threw aside their martial panoply and attended the court at Westminster Abbey—the duke of York conducting the queen. The archbishop and the prelates in their robes joined the procession that passed along the nave till they reached the altar, where all were incensed as they knelt in prayer. Then the primate standing up, turned to the now peaceful assembly and uttered his benediction; after which a Te Deum was sung by the choir.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall

* "Paston Letters." Fenn, i. 124.

inherit the kingdom of heaven." The primate had well earned this inheritance by turning two angry factions, who a short time before were eager to cut each other's throats, into a loving brotherhood, and his exertions on this "love day" were well remembered by the people. They were chronicled in the popular songs of the period.*

The peace so produced, however, was not durable. The queen became imprudent, then arbitrary, and ceased to heed the archbishop's counsels; and the Yorkists were again driven to take up arms. They employed an agent of the Pope then in England to undermine his loyalty, and at an imposing demonstration of the force of the Yorkists at Sandwich he appeared in ecclesiastical state, and gave his benediction to their leaders, Salisbury and Warwick, who had just landed with their retainers. Cardinal Bourchier had placed himself at the head of a considerable military power, and having joined the malcontents amid the enthusiastic shouts of an immense multitude, the united force took the road to London, gaining thousands of ardent followers as they marched through Kent.

They entered the metropolis, unopposed, on the 2nd of July, 1460, and the archbishop summoned a convocation, that included the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, as well as the Yorkist leaders, to meet at St. Paul's; he proceeding there in state, giving his blessing to the kneeling citizens as he rode along. He entered the sacred edifice followed by the Yorkist earls in armour; and as they knelt before him at the altar, where he sat on the archiepiscopal throne, he

* "Political Songs," Wright.

made them take an oath of allegiance to Henry VI After this they were publicly to declare the wrongs which had driven them to take up arms. The assembly listened and approved; and when the Yorkist leaders left the church, they were received with the liveliest signs of approbation by the mass of citizens who had not been able to gain admission.

The royal family were equally on the alert, and had organized a powerful army. The cardinal archbishop marched with his contingent against it as it lay encamped at Northampton, and there persuaded the young earl of March to open a negotiation. He then accompanied an embassy to get permission for the Yorkist earls to present themselves before the king to treat of peace. All proposals of the kind were sternly refused by the duke of Buckingham. The archbishop persevered in his efforts to bring about an accommodation, and sent the bishop of Hereford as his messenger; but the royalists were intractable, and on the 10th of July commenced an attack. It proved most disastrous to them; and the king was taken prisoner. The primate appears to have had the charge of his sovereign, whom he accompanied to London. There was presently another grand procession to St. Paul's, the monarch in his regalia being its principal feature; and again there were benedictions and a Te Deum; then the royal puppet—for he was nothing more—was taken to the inn of the bishop of London.

All documents and all acts still went in the name of the king; but the archbishop had before the end of the eventful year reason to doubt the intentions of the duke of York and his son, the earl of March, and

proceeded to the king's palace at Westminster for his protection. The duke, in full armour, and attended by an overpowering retinue, soon afterwards approached the palace while the Parliament was sitting, entered the Painted Chamber, and made his way to the throne, evidently with the intention of there taking his seat. The primate then entered the assembly, preceded by his cross-bearer, and walking up to the duke, requested him to pay his respects to the king. He is said to have muttered that he knew no one to whom he owed obedience; but sulkily followed the prelate. He did not, however, enter the palace: he was received by the mob outside with such noisy demonstrations of welcome that he turned in another direction, after commanding that the royal apartments should be made ready for himself.

Things, however, were not quite ripe for the transfer he meditated, as the Parliament would not have Henry VI. set aside,—they would only sanction the placing the duke of York next in the succession. The cardinal archbishop had interposed in time to prevent the former being thrust from the throne; but soon became conscious that he was powerless to befriend him further. He busied himself with his archiepiscopal functions, and left the dangerous scene and the intrigues of the reckless politicians who had determined to play out their parts in it.

Society was convulsed, as each party ravaged and destroyed; now the Yorkists were crushed and their leader got rid of,—presently the queen's party was as completely overthrown, and the young duke more powerful than his father had ever been.

Archbishop Bourchier remained quiet till the 29th of June, 1461, when it became his duty to crown the victor as Edward IV., and on the 26th of May, 1465, officiated at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville. It was in this year that his new sovereign solicited the Pope to make the archbishop a cardinal; for though nominated to that office, he had never had the royal permission to assume that title, and it had lain dormant. Even after the Pope had expressed his readiness to accede to the king of England's request, several years passed without the public acknowledgment of the dignity. In the last revolution that once more overwhelmed the Lancastrians, he had done good service to Edward at a critical turn of his fortunes. St. Paul's was again the scene, and processions, benedictions, and a Te Deum, revived his popularity and prospered his cause at the battle of Barnet; after winning which he returned to the cathedral to repeat the inspiriting ceremonial.

Archbishop Bourchier appears to have been nominated by Paul III. in September, 1467; but the red hat was sent by Sixtus IV. in 1472. It arrived in England in May, and the primate received it in Lambeth with much state, in the midst of his suffragans and a brilliant company of laymen, and it was placed on his head, after a proper service in the chapel, by Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester.

The archbishop was not again called into active political service till sent as ambassador to treat for peace with the French at Pecquigny. The principal object of the treaty was to settle a ransom for the liberation of Margaret of Anjou, she having been

captured at the decisive battle of Tewkesbury in 1470. The cardinal was able to arrange this with the French plenipotentiaries, and to the great satisfaction of all classes of Englishmen, the queen quitted the country.

This was a great year for Canterbury, for it was the jubilee of its popular saint and martyr; and a pilgrimage to his shrine was made more attractive by a promise of important indulgences from the primate. Among the innumerable pilgrims who swarmed into the city were the king and queen; and they and their court made a journey through the kingdom, that was quite as picturesque and doubtless as jovial as that which has been so admirably described by the poet of a preceding generation. Whether they beguiled the way with stories after the Chaucer pattern we have not been informed, but it was essentially a jovial court; and if those who win may laugh, they had ample provocation for mirth. To many, however, it proved a season of sorrow and desolation, for the fatal pestilence was ravaging the land.

The cardinal archbishop received his royal pilgrims with every mark of consideration, not forgetting to remind his sovereign of the donations of his ancestors. Edward caused a memorial window to be erected, adorned with a moving representation of the murder of Becket. The other pilgrims gave with such liberality that the treasury of the cathedral must have been greatly enriched.

The revival of learning in England was earnestly promoted by the cardinal. He drew around him those of his countrymen who distinguished them-

selves by a love of letters, and associated on the most intimate terms with that illustrious patron of scholars, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, the queen's brother. He particularly gave his attention to the advancement of music, religious and secular. But society is most indebted to him for his patronage of that eminently useful art, printing. He is said to have set up a press at Oxford, where the first book printed in England was produced in 1468.* This, however, has been disproved, although there can be but little doubt that he was one of the patrons of Caxton.

On the death of Edward IV., Cardinal Bourchier's growing infirmities, which had in 1480 induced him to appoint a suffragan for the performance of his archiepiscopal duties, excused him from attendance at the king's magnificent funeral; but in May he took a journey to London, apparently with the hope of serving the cause of his heir. He was summoned with other lords temporal and spiritual by "the Protector," Richard, duke of Gloucester, to hear his intentions. That the archbishop had little confidence in them may be surmised by his suggesting to the queen to take sanctuary with her second son in Westminster Abbey. The purport of the duke's address was to induce her friend to cause them to quit their security.

The two archbishops were equally anxious to preserve the rights of sanctuary; but the duke was omnipotent and unscrupulous. He threatened violence, and his partisan, the duke of Buckingham, abused Queen Elizabeth, and urged that her son should

* "Exposicio Sancti Jeromini in Simbolo Apostolorum."

be taken away from her. To prevent this outrage, the cardinal appears to have promised to use his persuasions with the queen to surrender the duke of York. He, as well as others of the council, were cowed by the menaces of the two dukes, for they agreed to go on a deputation to the widowed mother. They found her opposed to relinquish the custody of her son till he had recovered from an illness under which, as she alleged, he was still suffering. Doubtless it was an excuse: she entertained fears for his safety. Cardinal Bourchier, however, while allowing her to be the most proper nurse for the child, was obliged to tell her that the palace would afford better accommodation for him. He used many cogent reasons; but the more he argued, the more determined she showed herself not to comply. At last she refused to leave the place or to permit her son to be taken from her custody. Then the cardinal intimated to her that sanctuary could no longer be permitted to the child, as he was too young to demand it, and had done nothing that made such a privilege necessary to him. He therefore informed her that if she now endeavoured to detain him, he must be taken from her by force.

The queen, whose terrible anxieties sufficiently excuse the irritation she displayed in the conference, lost sight of the little discretion left her, intimated her suspicions of the Protector, and denounced the idea of a violation of the right of sanctuary. Cardinal Bourchier can only be excused for the part he took in these proceedings by the plea that he believed the royal child would be in no danger when removed to the palace.

That this was his conviction is clear from his last words to her—

"If you resign your son to us," he declared, "I will pawn my soul and body for his safety."

She still refused. The council were preparing to return, when the queen, apparently seeing resistance hopeless, gave up her son to the cardinal, with a last appeal:—

"Let me beg of you," she implored, "for the trust which his father ever reposed in you, and for the confidence I now put in you, that as you think I fear too much, so you would be cautious that in this weighty case ye fear not too little; because your credulity here may make an irrevocable mistake."*

The cardinal received the duke of York from his mother, and taking him by the hand, returned to the council, and then accompanied him to the palace of the bishop of London, where his brother, the young king, had been placed. He subsequently conveyed both to the Tower. He now hurried away to his favourite manor in Kent, as if hoping in retirement to escape from the responsibility he had incurred. There he received a summons to attend the coronation of Richard III. He obeyed, and in so doing may be said to have sanctioned the proceedings that were taken to set aside the royal children on the ground of illegitimacy. That this was a mere pretext for disposing of their pretensions to the crown was rendered sufficiently clear

* At least such is the report of her speech on the occasion which Sir Thomas More has given in his "Historie of the Pittiful Life and Unfortunate Death of Edward V.," &c., 1641.

by their fate. Had the proof of their illegitimacy been conclusive, their unimportance would have been their security. The dark deed perpetrated in the Tower is unanswerable evidence of their claims to the crown.

The cardinal archbishop contributed by the presence of himself and suffragans in full ecclesiastical splendour to the grand spectacle of Richard's coronation, and heard the shouts of the multitude that declared his popularity. For a little time the new king's manner was singularly gracious to both clergy and laity; he remitted taxes due from the archbishop; he disforested a royal chase; he addressed a letter to the prelates, directing them to maintain discipline and promote virtue and cleanness of living throughout their dioceses; and in other ways acted the popular sovereign to admiration. Presently rumours began to circulate respecting the children in the Tower; and as soon as their fate became known, public favour changed into public execration.

Cardinal Bourchier remained in retirement at Knowle; but when satisfied of the crimes of the usurper, was not inactive. He and all his family favoured the pretensions of the earl of Richmond, and several of his own kinsmen accompanied this avenger of blood in his adventurous invasion. The issue of battle was decided at Bosworth, where the Yorkists received their final discomfiture. The death of Richard and the marriage of the victor with Elizabeth of York appeared to terminate the sanguinary struggle.

It is easy to imagine the gratification with which

the cardinal archbishop obeyed the summons to marry the representatives of the two houses. The ceremony took place on the 18th of January, 1486. A more imposing one followed.

We learn from a MS. preserved among the archives at Belvoir Castle, printed by the Camden Society, how the principal personages at court were expected to assist in the pageant. In the procession arranged to walk from Westminster Hall to the abbey, "the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, with other lords spiritual, all pontifically arrayed, and the abbot of Westminster, with his couent in copes, bearing relics and other things accustomed to be borne in coronations; that is to say, a chalice of gold, a paten of the same, a sceptre with a dove, and a rod of gold for the king, and with a sceptre of ivory also with a dove, and another rod of gold also for the queen."*

When her majesty entered the abbey by the west door, "there shall be said over her by the said cardinal as archbishop this orison: '*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus!*' This done," continues this "Device for the Coronation," "the cardinal, as archbishop of Canterbury, showing the king to the people at the four parts of the said pulpit, shall say in this wise: 'Sirs, I here present Henry, true and rightful and undoubted inheritor by the laws of God and man, to the crown and royal dignity of England, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, elect, chosen, and required by all three estates of the same land, to take upon him the said crown and royal dignity; whereupon ye shall understand that this

* "Rutland Papers," p. 9.

day is prefixed and appointed by all the peers of this land for the consecration, enuncion, and coronation of the said most excellent Prince Henry.'

"'Will ye, sirs,'" he was to add, addressing the assembly, "'give your wills and assents to the same consecration, enuncion, and coronation?'

"Whereunto," adds the "Device," "the people shall say with a great voice, 'Yea! yea! yea! So be it! King Henry! King Henry!'"*

Further we are told that the king, at the altar, having offered a pall, a pound of gold, and twenty-four pounds in coin, "forthwith before the high altar, worshipfully arrayed with carpets and cushions, the king shall there lie down *grovelling* while the said cardinal as archbishop shall say upon him '*Deus humilium;*' which done, the said cardinal may, at his pleasure, command some short sermon to be said, during which the said cardinal shall sit before the high altar, his back towards the same, as is the custom, and the king shall sit against him face to face, in a chair prepared as to high estate accordeth."

The cardinal then was to demand from the king his promise to maintain the laws, customs, and liberties granted to the clergy and people by the glorious king St. Edward; then he was required to respect the privileges of the Church, which promise he confirmed by an oath solemnly taken at the high altar.

"That done," adds the programme, "the cardinal kneeling, and the king lying grovelling afore the high altar as above, the cardinal shall begin with a

* "Rutland Papers," p. 12.

high voice this hymn, '*Veni Creator Spiritus.*'" A prayer was to follow, then the Litany by the cardinal and bishops; then my lord cardinal was "to sing with open voice three times." After which came the anointing and robing the king, the cardinal blessing the sword.

"The king, thus girt with his sword," continues the writer, "and standing, shall take armyll of the cardinal, saying these words, '*Accipe armillum.*'" This ornament, it is directed, "is to be made in manner of a stole woven with gold and set with stones, to be put by the cardinal about the king's neck, and coming from both shoulders to the king's both elbows." It was to be fastened with silk laces by the abbot of Westminster. Then came the crowning of the king by the cardinal, followed by the delivery of the sceptre and gloves. The cardinal and prelates next kissed the king; then came the homage of the temporal lords. Afterwards came the ceremonies with which the cardinal crowned the queen, followed by the mass, the oblation, and the blessing. The royal pair now partook of the communion at the hands of the cardinal; their crowns were taken off and others substituted, their robes changed, and then in procession they all went from the abbey to the banqueting-hall.

Cardinal Bourchier returned to the tranquillity of his favourite manor-house in Kent, hoping to enjoy it undisturbed, now all things in Church and State had settled themselves into a position of security; but this enjoyment was brief. His infirmities increased, and a serious indisposition attacked him. He never recovered; his death occurring on the 6th

of April of the same year. He received a magnificent funeral at Canterbury.

He had executed a will a few days before his demise, in which he bequeathed a hundred and twenty-five pounds to each of the universities, to be lent to poor scholars in sums of a hundred marks; a hundred pounds to be distributed to the poor; to his successor the sum of £2,000 for dilapidations; a statuette of gold and jewels of great value to the prior and chapter of Christchurch, Canterbury; one of silver to Ely; and to his kinsmen some of his manors and jewels.

In the year 1455 the cardinal had purchased of Lord Say and Sele the manor of Knowle, in Sevenoaks. He rebuilt the mansion in a castellated form, and made it one of the manor-houses of his see. He was always a promoter of architecture, and took special interest in the noble productions which, despite the unfavourable times, were completed in his time. It has been averred that he founded a chantry. His benefactions to Canterbury were princely; among them was the alien priory of Cranfield, in Essex, presented to him by Edward IV., which he gave to the prior and convent of Christchurch.*

According to the papal annalists, Bourchier was appointed archbishop of Adrianople, as well as cardinal priest;† but as he had already filled two archbishoprics, it is not likely that he desired a third. It may have been an honorary distinction, conferred

* Dart, "Hist. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury." Bentham, "History, &c., of the Cathedral Church of Ely."

† Ciaconius, ii. 1253.

to secure the services of the English primate in promoting the interests of the papal see, which were terribly in want of solid support. Wars were constantly raging in some part of Europe. At last the Pope woke up to a knowledge of the fact that the infidels alone profited by this effusion of Christian blood, and endeavoured to effect a combination against them, at a diet held at Ulm in the year 1466; but among the princes of the empire there appeared to be a growing distrust of pontifical negotiators, for a promise of 20,000 mercenaries was all that could be obtained. The cry of wolf had been repeated so often by the same voice, that, though the ravenous beast was almost at their doors, little attention was paid to the alarm. The emperor Frederick III., however, was induced, the following year, to perform a pilgrimage to Rome; and his edifying conduct was regarded by the cardinals as a compensation for the deficiency of religious zeal in his countrymen. A great deal of work was in store for them; the rivalry of Germany and France promised a rich field of pontifical enterprise, and the Princes of the Church devoted themselves to it with extraordinary earnestness of purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

JOHN MORTON, CARDINAL PRIEST.

His Family—Affairs at Rome—Classical Quarrels—Luxury—His Rise in the Church and in the Law—Attached to the cause of Margaret of Anjou—Gains the favour of Edward IV.—His Preferments—is appointed Ambassador—League against the Turks—is made Bishop of Ely and Chancellor—His Installation—Profuse Hospitality—The Episcopal Mansion in Holborn—The Bishop sent to the Tower—Appeal in his Favour—He is sent to Brecknock—The Duke of Buckingham—The Bishop escapes to Flanders—Evils of the Papal System—Bishop Morton returns to England—is appointed Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury—desires a Reform of the Church—Cardinal Adrian—The Archbishop strives to correct Abuses—Letter to the Abbot of St. Alban's—is Recommended to the Pope—Alexander VI.—Morton created a Cardinal—The Borgias and Charles VIII.—Thomas More patronized by the Cardinal—His Death and Will.

WITH too many of our distinguished men, who flourished in a remote period of our history, there is a difficulty in fixing the date and place of their birth; but John Morton has had many diligent biographers, who have gone over the first stage of his career with unusual care.* Through Fuller and Wood, we learn that he was born in 1410, the eldest of several sons of Richard Morton,

* Nevertheless there is no trace of him in the "Biographia Britannica," nor of half the distinguished churchmen England has produced.

of Milborne, near Bere Regis, Dorset, in which county he acquired school learning from the fathers of the Benedictine abbey at Cerne, whence he proceeded to Oxford, and entered himself at the institution now known as Balliol College. Though he pursued the usual course of study, he gave his attention earnestly to civil and canon law, in which he took his doctor's degree.

He could not have been indifferent to what was going on in the capital of the Christian world. Soon after the election of Eugenius IV., the traveller Brocquiere visited Rome on his way to the Holy Land, and seems to have paid as much attention to the glories of the ancient as to those of the modern metropolis. He refers to the marble columns, statues, and monuments, with quite as much enthusiasm as to the treasures of the churches to which the Pontiffs had granted full indulgences for sin committed by their visitors or pilgrims. This visit occurred in the year 1432. In 1443 Rome was honoured with the presence of a much more distinguished stranger, in the emperor Sigismund. He had received the silver crown at his election, in Aix-la-Chapelle; the iron crown of the kingdom of Lombardy had been conferred upon him at Milan, in 1431; and now the cardinals had to assist the Pope in giving him a golden crown. It was a very grand ceremony, and the papal court were much gratified by the stately part they were called upon to play in it. The Emperor did not undervalue his new dignity, as the Pope and the Sacred College could have testified before his departure.

That classical attainments were not incompatible with the possession of the highest ecclesiastical honours, is seen in the career of Bessarion, bishop of Nice, a Greek, who had been one of the advocates of his faith at the council of Florence. Though he subsequently returned to Constantinople, he did not remain there. He paid a visit to Rome, completely abandoned the schism in which he had been educated, recommended himself to the cardinals, and gained the esteem of Eugenius IV. In 1439 he was elevated to the dignity of a Prince of the Church, and subsequently proposed as a successor to Eugenius in the chair of St. Peter; but the election fell on Pius II., who acknowledged the eminence of his rival's merit by creating him patriarch of Constantinople. Cardinal Bessarion remained an ornament to the court of Rome, sparing neither labour nor expense in collecting the classic authors. He presented his MSS. to the Venetian republic, to assist in forming a national library in the church of St. Mark. This was in 1468.

A crusade against the Turks was advocated by Pius II. and his cardinals, and by unremitting exertions the powers of Europe were induced to promise assistance. The allied army was to rendezvous at Ancona, and there the Pontiff and his court repaired. There was such an abundance of spectators as to exhaust the supplies of the neighbourhood; but the anticipated armament did not appear, moreover there arrived neither money nor arms. The Pope, who was old and infirm, took the disappointment to heart. Hitherto a crusade

had been a capital pontifical investment. It was hard that in his hands it should turn out a lamentable failure. His cardinals could not console him. He beheld the few troops that had assembled return to their homes. The expedition was abandoned. Pius took to his bed, and died.

Classical disputations began to take the place of theological, but were remarkable for the scholarship of the controversialists. The cardinals of the court of Nicholas V. rivalled the Supreme Pontiff in the interest they took in such disputes, particularly in that in which a papal secretary, George of Trebizond, was opposed to Cardinal Bessarion. Aristotle and Plato became almost as antagonistic as Guelph and Ghibelline had been; and the rival philosophers created as eager partisans as had the opponents in the family feud. The cardinal, however, beat the ex-secretary out of the field; his last work, "In Calumniatorem Platonis," being considered by the Sacred College as unanswerable. Other classical quarrels followed, and Italy was shortly divided into scholastic camps; but, beyond heartily abusing each other, they did no harm.

Paul II. was the successor of Pius II., a nephew of Eugenius IV. During his pontificate the rage for luxury in the court of Rome exceeded all former extravagance in that direction. The Pontiff set an example in the splendour of his dress and the magnificence of his living. A display of jewels and embroidery in his opinion was evidently of more importance to the Apostolic Church than any amount of Christian virtue or of philosophical attainments. He dressed the dignity to which he

had been elevated well, and as he possessed a fine figure, invariably made an imposing appearance as the chief performer in the great ceremonials of the Church. But there his merit begins and ends. He was no scholar, and discouraged scholarship. He seems to have regarded himself as a temporal prince, whose first duty was to enlarge his possessions whenever a favourable opportunity offered for appropriation.

Morton proceeded to London to practise in the Court of Arches, but maintained his connection with the university, where, in 1453, he became Principal at Peckwater's Inn, now Christchurch. He had been ordained several years before, indeed had held preferment in his native county,—the living of Bloxworth; this was followed in 1450 with the sub-deanery of Lincoln.

As a lawyer, his advance was equally satisfactory. He attracted the attention of Archbishop Bourchier, who exerted his influence to get him created a privy councillor and chancellor of the duchy of Cornwall; he was also presented with prebendal stalls in the cathedrals of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Lichfield—comfortable sources of revenue.

While both layman and priest he was called upon to act as soldier. Connecting himself with the cause of Henry VI., he had to fight for his life at Towton, and fly for his life afterwards. The triumphant Yorkists caused him to be attainted as a traitor, and deprived him of his employments, religious and secular. He fled with Margaret of Anjou and her son, and became one of her suite of two hundred persons with whom she travelled in

Flanders, in November, 1462, and was still with her in the following year. He joined the earl of Warwick in August, and accompanied his expedition into England in the following September. His enemy fled at their approach, and Morton proceeded to London.

While the Lancastrians were enjoying their easy triumph, Edward IV. returned to England, his force gathering rapidly as he proceeded. On the 11th of April he was again master of the metropolis. Morton fled to the coast, where he met Queen Margaret, and conducted her into sanctuary to the place of his early studies,—the abbey of Cerne; thence he took her to a more secure retreat,—the monastery of Beaulieu. Morton continued in attendance till the battle of Tewkesbury, when, the cause being hopeless, he endeavoured to make terms for himself.

Like most of those who were in the same difficulty, he sent a petition to the king, and received a pardon; he then entered the service of Edward IV., who proved not only an indulgent, but a very liberal lord and master; for clerical patronage was heaped upon him with an extent of plurality that appears incredible. In 1472 he was Master of the Rolls, rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, London, and prebendary of Isledon, St. Paul's; in the following year prebendary of Chiswick, St. Paul's.

In this year there is a reference to him in the "Paston Letters," under the date April 15, in his legal capacity:—"Item, the king hath sent for his great seal. Some say we shall have a new chancellor; but some think both, as he did at the last

field, he will have the seal with him. But this day Dr. Morton, Master of the Rolls, rideth to the king, and beareth the seals with him."

In the following year he left the country on a mission to the king of Hungary and the emperor of Germany, with the object of forming a coalition against Louis XI. He returned to help the king in raising funds for an invasion of France; then accompanied him to Calais to demand the crown of Louis as belonging to England by right of conquest. There arrived, it was discovered that one of the parties to the coalition, the duke of Burgundy, was not forthcoming with his promised armament; the consequence was that Edward IV. set aside his dreams of glory for the payment of his expenses (75,000 crowns), and an annual tribute of 50,000 crowns. The French king and the French nobles were so eager to get rid of the English, that they bribed almost every one supposed to possess any influence. Doctor Morton received his portion.

The successes of the Turks under Mahomet II. caused the cardinals to think of subjects of deeper interest even than the enjoyments of Roman life,—their personal security; therefore they employed themselves seriously in endeavouring to effect a league of the principal Italian states. This was completed in December, 1470; the Pope taking the lead, and Lorenzo de' Medici on the part of Florence, the king of Naples, the duke of Milan, and the minor potentates, agreeing to combine their forces for defence against the common enemy. At this period those merchant princes, the Medici, were regarded as the best friends of the court of Rome.

They were capitalists to whom the cardinals could resort on any emergency, and the papal revenue was supplied annually with a hundred thousand ducats in the shape of rent for a mine. Paul II. had hated them, because during an unprincipled attempt to seize the city of Rimini, assisted by a military force from Venice, the Medici had sent an army to its defence, that met the combined Venetian and Roman forces, and inflicted on them so total a defeat that the Pope found himself obliged to sue for peace. Thus constrained, he revenged himself by abusing the illustrious family whose influence had disappointed his selfish ambition.

Aware that one important source of their fame in Italy was their liberal patronage of letters, he persecuted every scholar of eminence who ventured upon Roman territory. The members of an academy instituted at Rome on the model of one already established in Florence, he suddenly seized and tortured, under the pretence that they were engaged in a conspiracy against his life. Their innocence was established without difficulty; but the Pontiff refused to liberate them, on the plea that he had taken a vow to keep them in prison.

Notwithstanding that a law had recently been passed against those imposts delusively called "Benevolences," Morton when chancellor revived the tax, giving instructions to the collectors that if the persons called upon to contribute lived frugally, it must be insisted that they had saved money; while if they exhibited a hospitable style of living, they were to be called upon to pay the tax, as from their lavish expenditure it was evident that they were in a

position of opulence. It was called "Morton's fork," and was a device which prevented any one escaping the obnoxious subsidy. It was more worthy of a lawyer than of a divine; and this probably formed his claim to commendation in the mind of an eminent legal biographer.*

Edward IV. appears to have been anxious to distinguish himself as a persecutor of all persons in his kingdom who professed the new opinions. He wrote to Sixtus IV., Feb. 24th, 1476, denouncing the writings of Bishop Pecock, and requesting, as they were becoming more and more popular, that apostolic letters should be written to punish all possessors of such books.† He appears to have been a pretty constant correspondent of the Supreme Pontiff, and to have kept active agents at his court; but his zeal for orthodoxy was assumed to secure pontifical favour.

Among the gayest of the gay cardinals who flourished under the rule of Sixtus IV. was Frate Piero, cardinal of St. Sixtus, a distinguished diplomatist, and though of humble origin, he excelled all the members of the Sacred College in his magnificent style of living. After being raised to the dignity of cardinal, he gave a banquet the expense of which exceeded 20,000 florins. The Papacy seemed to be too small a stage for his ambition. He was sent on a secret mission of observation to the principal cities of Italy, and on his return died suddenly, as usual, under suspicious circumstances.‡

* Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," i. 418.

† "Archives of Venice" (Rawdon Brown), 134.

‡ Machiavelli.

Besides Morton's gains already noticed, he obtained about the same time the archdeaconries of Winchester and Chester. The next year his pluralities were increased with the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, and he became prebendary of St. Decuman in Wells cathedral. He resigned his Mastership of the Rolls in 1479, three years after he had added to his astounding list a prebendal stall in York cathedral, and the archdeaconries of Berkshire and Leicester. He had also surrendered his legal appointment to his nephew, but received ample recompense in being consecrated bishop of Ely in 1478, when he was appointed chancellor.

In the August of the same year, the bishop, barefooted, his head uncovered, with no robe but his rochet, telling his beads and repeating his Paternoster, walked from Downham to Ely. At St. Mary's chapel he rested, made an offering of five shillings, and allowed the parochial clergy to wash his feet, after which they formed in procession, accompanied by their bishop in the same guise, to the great west door of the cathedral. Here everything had been prepared for his installation in the most striking contrast to his recent humility. The noble building was rendered as bright as carpets, tapestry, waxlights and gay flowers could make it—throne, altars, and shrines. The monks were grouped at the door in a half-circle, and when the prior delivered to his diocesan the holy-water vessel, the latter dipped his finger, crossed himself, and sprinkled the chapter; he was then incensed by the sub-prior and archdeacon. He took the cross, saluted it, and held it while the notary read aloud the notification of his appoint-

ment. The proper oaths were then taken, after which the procession moved on to the high altar.

Here there was increased splendour; and the bareheaded, barefooted dignitary prostrated himself, and knelt as the prior prayed. Presently he rose, and on his knees repeated his offering. The precentor entered, and the choir chanted, assisted by the congregation; then all went on to the shrine of St. Ethelreda. Here he kissed the relics and made another offering. In this way, going from shrine to shrine, the priests chanting as they went, the bishop elect knelt and offered at them all.

He now proceeded to the vestry, where the priests again washed his feet, and arranged him in his episcopal robes; when with jewelled gloves and mitre, and sandalled feet, Bishop Morton, bearing his pastoral staff, presented himself to the congregation; and as all knelt in prayer, gave his benediction as he passed to his throne near the high altar. There the proper ecclesiastical authority for his elevation was read, after which the prior, taking him by the hands, seated him on the throne. Now came a Te Deum by choir and congregation, at the termination of which, attended by prior, commissioner, and monks, the new prelate walked to his stall.

He presently moved to a sedile near another altar, where he received the homage of the prior and monks, each kissing first his hand and then his cheek. Having done this, they went to the vestry, followed by their bishop, who concluded the long ceremonial with the performance of high mass.*

* Bentham, "History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely," Appendix.

The effect produced on the spectators by the humility and splendour of their diocesan was increased by his princely hospitality. The installation feasts of prelates had for centuries been remarkable for their excess; but the many sources of revenue the bishop of Ely possessed, though he had given up several of his preferments, made such profusion easy. The episcopal palace soon acquired a reputation for good living, which attracted all gourmands, lay and clerical.

He removed to his town mansion in Holborn, the grounds of which contained twenty acres of vineyard, garden, orchard, and pasture. There is a description preserved in Bentham of this noble episcopal residence, and Stow makes honourable mention of its large and commodious rooms, newly built by Bishop Arundel, where "divers great and solemn feasts were kept." The same profuse hospitality was maintained here as had distinguished the episcopal palace at Ely. The bishop was constantly at court, where he assisted in the education of the Prince of Wales; and there is very little doubt that the court were often at Ely House. He attended Edward IV. in his fatal illness, and assisted at his funeral. He had evidently won the king's regard, for in his will the bishop of Ely is appointed one of his executors.

On the 13th of June, 1483, Bishop Morton attended a council at which, on the authority of Sir Thomas More, occurred that conference with "the Lord Protector" which Shakspeare has immortalized, when, after complimenting the prelate on his strawberries, Gloucester disclosed his deformity, savagely denounced the council as traitors, and the guard

rushing in, the bishop of Ely, Hastings, and other noblemen, were rudely seized and conveyed to prison.

The tyrant's mind had become suspicious, and the bishop's long intimacy with the royal family seemed peculiarly to mark him out as one likely to be a check on his designs. He was therefore sent to the Tower—and his speedy execution was looked for.

Wherever he had lived, Bishop Morton had made friends, and nowhere had he so many as at Oxford. The university boldly addressed King Richard, though in the most courteous language of which its Latinity was capable, in behalf of their imprisoned patron; and praised him and apologized for him with such success that the king relented so far as to direct his being sent to Brecknock, in Wales, to be in the charge of the duke of Buckingham.

Hitherto the duke had been the usurper's most powerful and most reliable adherent, but after a few conferences with his prisoner, he confided to him his doubts and fears, and the two readily became of one mind and one feeling. Under the auspices of the bishop, he entered into a conspiracy to dethrone the king, against whom the popular indignation was excited by his alleged murder of the royal children in the Tower. The Lady Margaret was communicated with, as well as the queen dowager, for a marriage between the son of the former (Henry, duke of Richmond) and a daughter of the latter. This union of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, as was expected, united friends of both against "the crook-backed tyrant."

When he had matured his plans, Bishop Morton

escaped from Brecknock, apparently distrusting his host's weakness of character, and concealed himself in the Isle of Ely, whence he proceeded to the coast, and, well supplied with funds, sailed for Flanders. Here intelligence reached him of the failure of the duke's insurrection, and his execution. His own attainder was followed by the abortive attempt at invasion by the duke of Richmond.

The papal court continued to exert its attraction as well as its influence in England; successive sovereigns maintaining a correspondence with the Pontiff, and an agency at Rome for the promotion of their own political objects or the advantage of their ecclesiastical favourites. Richard III. wrote to Innocent VIII., recommending the bishop of Durham (Sherwood) to the elevation of cardinal, urging that he had been employed nine years at the Holy See.*

The luxurious style of living general at the pontifical court kept the exchequer low, and the usual expedients were had recourse to, to secure supplies from foreign countries.

All this time the desire for a reformation of the Church continued to gain ground, particularly in Germany and in England, where the most strenuous efforts of orthodox churchmen to suppress the pre-Lutheran opinions only seemed to increase their popularity. What was constantly done at Rome favoured the development of the movement. Even rigid Catholics occasionally betrayed their aversion to the more objectionable proceedings.

A few years later King Ferdinand published an

* "Archives of Venice" (Rawdon Brown), 148.

ordinance to the effect that any one of his subjects, ecclesiastical or secular, who should make use of a papal indulgence, should suffer death.* As this took place in ultra-Catholic Spain, it is easy to imagine what sort of regard less orthodox governments entertained for the reigning pontiff, when his proceedings were at variance with their policy. In truth, nothing can be more clear than the hollowness of their professed devotion to the successor of St. Peter. In all their combinations, he was regarded as a political agent only.

Notwithstanding the disasters that had occurred, the bishop did not lose heart. He kept up the spirits of his confederates in England and on the continent; even opened communications with some of his friends in the king of England's confidence. From this quarter he learnt that the government of the duke of Brittany, in whose territory the duke of Richmond had taken refuge, had agreed to deliver him to Richard III. He at once sent a messenger to warn the duke of his danger, and urge him to fly to France. His escape was promptly effected; and the duke and his friends took refuge at the court of Charles VIII. They subsequently crossed the Channel to the coast of Wales; and so detested had become the name of the usurper, that their progress through England was a triumph.

While the bishop remained in Flanders he heard of the destruction of his enemy, on the 22nd of August, 1485; and received a summons to attend the conqueror, who had marched to London, which he entered an acknowledged sovereign on the 28th of

* Bergenroth, "Archives of Simancas."

the same month. As bishop of Ely, it was his duty to assist with the other prelates at the coronation of Henry VII., and he is named in the official programme.* But the fatal epidemic known as the sweating sickness, that spread with fearful rapidity about this time in the metropolis, caused the ceremony to be delayed.

In the mean time Bishop Morton looked after his own interests, and met with his usual success. He easily got his attainder reversed, took possession of his see and his preferments, and was appointed a member of the Privy Council. He obtained the confidence of the king, who promoted him, on the 6th of March, to the dignity of lord high chancellor. Scarcely had he taken charge of this responsible office, when a greater charge was thrust upon him. Cardinal Bourchier died on the 30th of the month, and with general consent the vacant archbishopric was conferred on the bishop of Ely. His enthronization at Canterbury, however, did not take place till the 28th of January following. It far exceeded the splendour and hospitality of his episcopal festival.

Henry VII., grateful for his important services, remitted the archbishop the tenth he had lately imposed on his clerical subjects; but the primate, probably knowing the state of the royal exchequer, taxed his clergy to enable him to offer a seasonable supply. In the performance of his ecclesiastical duties, he took high ground. To a considerable extent he favoured the pretensions of the papal court, but while so doing, exercised a vigilant superin-

* A Device for the Coronation—"Rutland Papers." See *antè*, p. 147.

tendence over the Anglican Church, and maintained a severe discipline.

The objects with which the principal religious houses of a mixed charitable and religious order had been founded were gradually being lost sight of; and the great abbeys and priories throughout the country, with a few honourable exceptions, had become so notorious for the luxurious and depraved living of the fraternities, as to excite satirical attacks from both clergy and laity.

The archbishop of Canterbury, knowing the scandalous practices that existed in his own diocese, as well as in others, was anxious to remedy so grave an evil. He heard the reports of various persons likely to be well informed on the subject, and then sent to Rome for instructions. He was well aware that, without due support from the highest quarter, no amelioration of the disease, which he knew to be eating like a leprosy into the Church, could be effected.

Among the most influential members of the court of Rome at this period was Adrian de Castello, an Italian priest and cardinal, who had resided in England as nuncio extraordinary for Pope Innocent VIII., and as collector of Peter's pence. He rendered himself particularly useful to Archbishop Morton, who, with an eye probably to some return at Rome, introduced him to Henry VII.*

* The king appointed him, in 1504, bishop of Hereford. Cardinal Adrian accepted an engagement as the king's agent at the court of Rome before he left England. As a further retainer, soon after he had reached the Holy See, he was translated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He appointed Polydore Vergil, who

The immorality of the English clergy had become so flagrant in the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the primate readily procured the Pope's authority for a visitation. He proceeded from one to another of the monasteries and abbeys, and laid the result before a provincial synod. His exposure of folly and profligacy produced no great effect upon the assembly: admonitions and cautions were bestowed upon the great offenders, but the swarm of clerical roysterers, sportsmen, and swashbucklers were scarcely at all interfered with judicially. The severest thing done was the sending round to the religious houses a written address dilating on the scandalous lives that many priests were living, and exhorting them to reform.*

was the Pope's sub-collector in England, his archdeacon. The cause of these substantial favours was his influence with Pope Alexander VI., whose principal secretary and vicar-general he became. Cardinal Adrian was a prelate of remarkable talent, and lived in great splendour on the profits of his agency and his English bishopric, which he farmed out. He erected a magnificent palace at Rome, on the façade of which he caused an inscription to be placed in honour of the king of England. On his death he left it by will to Henry VII. and his successors. He possessed considerable influence at court. The fame of his wealth made him an object of peculiar regard to the infamous Cæsar Borgia, and he narrowly escaped with his life from a plot arranged by Borgia to poison the wealthiest princes of the Church at a banquet. During the pontificate of Julius II., Cardinal Adrian found his position so insecure, from the hostility of that pontiff, that he fled from the city, and remained in voluntary exile till after the death of Julius. —Aubery, "Histoire Générale des Cardinaux," tom. iii. p. 77.

* Froude, "Hist. of England," i. 97. This able historian published a report of the Primate's visitation in *Frazer's Magazine* for February, 1857.

The Pontiff gave the primate power to punish as well as to admonish; but he appears to have contented himself with writing to a special offender—the abbot of the now ill-governed abbey of St. Alban's, in the following terms:—

"It has come to our ears, being at once publicly notorious, and brought before us upon the testimony of many witnesses worthy of credit, that you, the abbot before-mentioned, have been of long time noted and defamed, and do yet continue so noted, of simony, of usury, of dilapidation and waste of the goods, revenues, and possessions of the said monastery; and of certain other enormous crimes and excesses hereafter written. In the sale, custody, and administration of the goods spiritual and temporal of the said monastery, you are so remiss, so negligent, so prodigal, that whereas the said monastery was of old times founded and endowed by the pious devotion of illustrious princes of famous memory, heretofore kings of this land, the most noble progenitors of our most serene lord and king that now is, in order that true religion might flourish there, that the name of the Most High, in whose honour and glory it was instituted, might be celebrated there.

"And whereas in days heretofore the regular observance of the said rule was greatly regarded, and hospitality was diligently kept. Nevertheless, for no little time during which you presided in the same monastery, you and certain of your fellow-monks and brethren (whose blood it is feared through your neglect a severe Judge will require at your hands) have relaxed the measure and form

of religious life. You have laid aside the pleasant yoke of contemplation, and all regular observances, hospitality, alms, and those other offices of piety which of old time were exercised and ministered therein; have desecrated, and by your faults, your carelessness, your neglect and deed do daily decrease more and more, and cease to be regarded; the pious vows of the founder are defrauded of their just intent; the ancient rule of your order is deserted, and not a few of your fellow-monks and brethren, as we most deeply grieve to find, giving themselves over to a reprobate mind, laying aside the fear of God, do lead only a life of lasciviousness; nay, as is horrible to relate, be not afraid to defile the holy places, even the very churches of God by infamous intercourse with nuns.

"You, yourself, moreover, among other grave enormities and abominable crimes whereof you are guilty, and for which you are noted and defamed, have, in the first place, admitted a certain married woman, named Eleanor Germyn, who had separated herself without just cause from her husband, and for some time past has lived in adultery with another man, to be a nun or sister in the house or priory of Bray, lying, as you pretend, within your jurisdiction. You have next appointed the same woman to be prioress of the said house, notwithstanding that her said husband was living at the time and is still alive. And, finally, Father Thomas Sudbury, one of your brother monks, publicly, notoriously, and without interference or punishment from you, has associated, and still associates, with this woman as an adulterer with his harlot.

"Moreover, divers others of your brethren and fellow monks have resorted and do resort to her and other women at the same place, as to a public brothel or receiving-house, and have received no correction therefor.

"Nor is Bray the only house into which you have introduced disorder. At the nunnery of Sapwell, which you also contend to be under your jurisdiction, you change the prioresses and superiors again and again at your own will and caprice. Here, as well as at Bray, you depose those who are good and religious; you promote to the highest dignities the worthless and the vicious. The duties of the order are cast aside, virtue is neglected, and by these means so much cost and extravagance have been caused, that to provide means for your indulgence you have introduced certain of your brethren to preside in their houses under the name of guardians, when in fact they are no guardians, but thieves and notorious villains; and with their help you have caused and permitted the goods of the same priories to be dispensed, or, to speak more truly, to be dissipated in the above-described corruptions, and other enormous and accursed offences. These places once religious are rendered and reputed as it were profane and impious, and by your own and your creatures' conduct are so impoverished as to be reduced to the verge of ruin.

"In like manner, also, you have dealt with certain other cells of monks which you say are subject to you. Even with the monastery of the glorious proto-martyr, Alban himself, you have dilapidated the common property; you have made away with

the jewels, the copses, the woods, the underwood, almost all the oaks and other forest trees, to the value of eight thousand marks and more, you have made to be cut down without distinction, and they have by you been sold and alienated. The brethren of the abbey—some of whom, it is reported, are given over to all the evil things of the world—neglect the service of God altogether. They live with harlots and mistresses publicly and continuously, within the precincts of the monastery and without. Some of them who are covetous of honour and promotion, and desirous therefore of pleasing your cupidity, have stolen and made away with the chalices and other jewels of the church. They have even sacrilegiously extracted the precious stones from the very shrine of St. Alban; and you have not yet punished these men, but have rather knowingly supported and maintained them. If any of your brethren be living justly and religiously, if any be wise and virtuous, these you straightway depress and hold in hatred."*

The state of things here described with such perfect unreserve, was atrocious enough apparently to have caused the bones of the English pope, who had been one of the most liberal patrons of this richly-endowed establishment, to stir in his grave with indignation. Ample provocation had been given for the extreme exercise of the powers granted by the head of the Church thus disgraced and outraged; but Archbishop Morton presently found that he had commenced a task he had neither the power nor the courage to complete. Probably he was made

* Froude. "Morton's Register," MS. Lambeth Palace Library.

aware that the abbot William had influential friends in England as well as in Rome, as such delinquents could always secure, and that his proper punishment was impossible; or discovered that St. Alban's was only one of the many establishments in England in which prodigality and profligacy flourished—in short, that the evil was too formidable to be grappled with successfully by him. So no further step was taken in the reformation that had even then become imperative in the opinion of right-minded Catholics.

Several attempts had previously been made to check clerical foppery, but with scarcely any result. The archbishop made a strenuous effort at reform in this direction, threatening with sequestration those who offended by assuming the extravagances of fashion adopted by the laity. Priests were prohibited wearing hoods, with fur or without, doubled with silk, or adorned with a horn or short tail, or having camlet about the neck. They were not to array themselves with sword or dagger, or with decorated belts, but were to walk abroad in their proper crowns and tonsures, showing their ears.

A most remarkable document was the bull of Pope Innocent VIII. published in 1489, stating that the English clergy were for the most part dissolute and reprobate, and giving authority to the primate for their correction and reformation. The latter was earnest in the cause, for he got the Pope's bull backed by an act of parliament, for the sure and likely reformation of priests, clerks, and religious men, culpable, or by their demerits openly reputed of incontinent living in their bodies, con-

trary to their order, and directed punishment to be awarded to fornication, incest, or any other fleshly incontinency.*

The king took special interest in this praiseworthy movement, and encouraged the primate to go through with his work. With the co-operation of pope, king, and parliament, he increased his exertions, and proceeded with all the state he could assume, in accordance with his exalted spiritual and temporal offices, to make visitation after visitation. Rochester, Worcester, and Salisbury, twice; Lichfield and Coventry, Bath and Wells, Winchester, Lincoln, and Exeter. While he corrected abuses, he collected money, as he found the offenders ready to

> "Compound for sins they were inclined to,
> By damning those they had no mind to."

Their zeal against heretics was quickened, while they were fined for their moral shortcomings.

This source of revenue recommended itself to Henry VII., who wanted money for a war with France; so he sent his commissioners with the archbishop in 1491, and found little difficulty in making the clerical delinquents compound under the already much-abused name of "benevolence." In recompense for the primate's services, he was granted a warrant to impress stone-hewers, for the repair of his churches and manor-houses in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.

Morton grew extremely unpopular with his clergy, especially with those who suffered most in pocket;

* "Statutes at Large," ii. 65.

moreover he engaged in a quarrel with the bishop of London about rights to certain gains out of wills. He as Lord Chancellor easily obtained judgment in his own favour; but the result did not improve his position with his suffragans.

Giovanni de Giglis, collector of Peter's pence in England, writing to Innocent VIII., Oct. 5, 1488, says: "The archbishop of Canterbury is prime minister, well adequate to everything, excellently deserving of the Apostolic See, and of his Holiness, and worthy of honour."* Henry VII. made a stronger recommendation of the primate to the Pope: "most earnestly recommends him to his Holiness for the dignity of the cardinalate, requesting, as that elevation has been delayed, that it may be conferred at the next creation." Henry VII. recommended some half a dozen candidates. For these good offices he received from the Pontiff a sword and a hat, with which the archbishop and the bishop of Exeter, apparently, were quite as much delighted as the king. A collection for the papal exchequer, as a jubilee offering, was then being made by Pedro Malnezzi, the papal envoy, who adds his entreaties to make the primate a cardinal. He speaks well of the disposition of the English prelates; but states in unequivocal language, that he does not intend to trust them with what he has received, lest the ready plunder should render them thieves.†

In another letter, May 9th, he assures his correspondent that the king and the archbishop are surprised that new cardinals have been made with-

* "Archives of Venice," 173. † Ibid., 179.

out including the primate, and suggests the propriety of his elevation.* The king again pressed it on the 21st of July, 1490.

The papal treasury being deficient, Innocent VIII., November 22, 1491, wrote instructions to Peter Huca, archdeacon of Northampton, to request the king's permission to levy a tenth on the clergy, and he is to require the assistance of the two archbishops. Dr. Puebla, the Spanish ambassador, received directions from Ferdinand and Isabella to desire Henry VII. to assist the Pontiff. In reply, the king excuses himself, on the plea that the Pope has not asked his assistance; but the papal necessities are urgent, and his Spanish friends use their best arguments to induce Henry to act like a Christian prince.† The king was reluctant to part with money without prospect of a profitable return, and pressed his own objects at Rome.

On the demise of Innocent, the conclave assembled for the election of a successor. There was no chance for the youthful Medici; his father had died in the preceding April, and almost the last act of kindness Giovanni had received from his friend, was the appointment of legate in Tuscany and in the Holy See. He was called upon to make some return for his elevation to the cardinalate, by the most influential of his former supporters, now a rival candidate for the chair of St. Peter. Cardinal Ascanio having received four mules laden with silver, gave up the contest, and declared in favour of his opponent. A present of five thousand crowns in gold, as a first

* "Archives of Venice" (Rawdon Brown), 181.

† "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth).

instalment, won over another competitor. The same tactics were persisted in till fifteen votes had been bought, and the choice fell upon the briber, Roderigo Borgia, subsequently known and detested as Alexander VI.*

The magnificence of the ceremony which commenced the pontificate of Alexander, was characteristic of the amazing prodigality of the Borgias. Money had been profusely circulated, and the new Pontiff was hailed by the Romans as though he had been a demigod. Endless were the triumphal arches, wonderful the pageants prepared to do him honour; an imperator returning from the conquest of a continent could not have been welcomed by their ancestors with greater distinction. Why they were so enthusiastic in his favour, knowing his antecedents so well as they must have done, may be easily guessed. The mules that had gone to Cardinal Ascanio and his associates in the Sacred College, had taken a load or two for distribution among the people.

The judgment formed of this pope by one of the ablest and most impartial of Italian historians, has certainly not endorsed the purchased estimate of his supporters. He gives Alexander credit for prudence and sagacity, allows him a sound understanding and marvellous eloquence, and bears testimony to his wonderful perseverance, vigilance, and dexterity. So much for the credit side of the account; this is the *per contra*.

He was distinguished by shameless manners,

* Burchard, "Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi," i. 141. Roscoe, "Leo X." 67.

habitual insincerity, want of decency and of truth, and was as completely without religion as without sincerity. He was immoderate in his avarice, was insatiable in ambition, more than barbarous in his cruelty, and was impelled by an inordinate desire by any means to aggrandise his offspring, some of whom were as detestable as their parent.*

The few cardinals who had conscientiously opposed the election of such a "Vicar of Christ," when the affair was decided, sought safety in flight. The martial Cardinal della Rovere, who, in a previous quarrel with him, had come to blows, fled to his bishopric of Ostea, and prepared the town to stand a siege. Cardinal Colonna took refuge in Sicily, and young Medici in Florence. There appear to have been two more in the minority; but as nothing is said of them, it is probable that they contrived to effect an amicable arrangement, and remained at Rome.

Despite of the popularity of the new Pontiff throughout Europe, his elevation appears to have excited distrust. Ferdinand of Naples regarded it as the precursor of general war, and presently all the Italian states seemed to ring with the clang of arms; the old jealousies and the old rivalries broke out afresh, and the Pope as usual striving to take advantage of them, found his own territories threatened by a combination, in which two at least of the fugitive cardinals are believed to have taken part. Hardly had he escaped from this danger when a worse complication presented itself, in the attempted conquest of Naples by the king of France

* Guicciardini, "Storia d' Italia," lib. i.

(Charles VIII.). Alexander took the side of the young monarch. Ferdinand died 25th January, 1494; and, in return for the papal support, Giovanni Borgia, the Pope's elder son, was created duke of Gandia; and Cæsar, the second, who had been appointed a cardinal, was enriched with valuable estates in the same kingdom.

The Sacred College were now constantly engaged in warlike deliberations, and several accompanied the Pontiff to a conference with King Alfonso of Naples, that took place at Vico, about twenty miles from the capital. They returned hastily, intelligence having reached them that numerous partisans of the French king in Rome were in open rebellion. Alexander was forced to temporize, and apparently order was restored.

Archbishop Morton's labours as chief administrator and counsellor in public affairs must have been continual. In the year 1487 he had to negotiate with the ambassadors of the king of France, when he insisted on the payment of tribute and pensions in arrears; but this was not conceded till 1491.

Previously in the year 1488 Parliament had been asked for a grant by the lord chancellor, to enable the king to commence a campaign in France. He made a great speech on this occasion, in which he entered upon the home and foreign policy of the country, with a display of oratorical power that had equal effect upon the lords temporal and spiritual.

He was created cardinal of St. Anastasia in 1493 by Alexander VI. The dignity invested him with additional authority.

In 1494 he officiated at the creation of the

king's second son as duke of York. Prince Henry's admission into the order of knights had been completed the preceding day (October 26th). The creation was a splendid ceremonial, the chief nobility in the kingdom taking part in it. At the banquet the primate sat on the right hand of the king; and he was specially invited to the tournament that followed, and lasted for three days.

Archbishop Morton as lord chancellor must be considered responsible for the arbitrary actions of the king when supplying his revenue, and on this account he has not escaped from the attacks of contemporary and subsequent writers; but in the pursuit of money Henry VII. had long become independent of advice, and found agents ready to follow out his suggestions without reference either to minister or parliament. Without doubt in this way much was done that was illegal; but the lord chancellor may not even have been cognizant of his proceedings, much less authorized them. Be this as it may, the unpopular acts of the sovereign were regarded as the suggestions of his chief counsellor, and he was much abused.

In the report of Loudoni and the sub-prior of Santa Cruz to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, when sent on an embassy to England, it is said that they were conducted to the palace by the bishop of London and many other gentlemen; and on their arrival were received by Henry VII. with marked demonstrations of pleasure. No other persons were present at their reception except the cardinal, the chancellor of the kingdom, an old gentleman, whom they called the treasurer, and Dr. de Puebla, the

resident ambassador from Spain. After delivering their message, they were asked by Henry to wait a few minutes, because he wanted to consult his council. Then the counsellors and many other great dignitaries of the realm were called into the room, while the members of the embassy retired a little distance. The king, surrounded by his council, spoke to them for some time; and the Spaniards appear to have been highly gratified by what they heard. The deliberations being concluded, King Henry asked them again to come nearer, and gave them a very gracious and satisfactory answer with a most cheerful countenance. The cardinal afterwards made a speech in the presence of the king, and answered every point of their message.*

In a second audience the cardinal was with the king. They subsequently report that the persons who have most influence in England are the mother of the king, the chancellor, Master Bray, the bishop of Durham, Master Ludel, who is treasurer, the bishop of London, and the lord chamberlain.

During the pontificate of Alexander VI., when Rome appears to have reached its climax as the centre of lawless violence, the capital of the Christian world assumed the character of the metropolis of an empire of evil. The Borgias rendered it a sink of iniquity.

It was during the expedition of Charles VIII. that a spirit developed itself among some Italian ecclesiastics for a reformation of the Church. This was openly advocated by Savonarola at Florence, where the king was staying, who was regarded as the principal instrument to effect the necessary change. Soon

* "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth), i. 163.

afterwards the French army, sixty thousand strong, entered the territories of the Church.

Intense was the alarm of the Pope and cardinals as Charles approached the city. Alexander attempted to mediate; but when the cardinals Sforza and Colonna were sent by the king to arrange a treaty, he committed them to prison, and resolved on making a defence. This idea he soon gave up, and Charles entered Rome with his forces on the last day of the year 1494, the Pope taking refuge in his fortress with the cardinals Orsini and Caraffa; but when arrangements were made to batter the place about his ears, he came out and agreed to meet the king in the pontifical gardens. Here, surrounded by his cardinals, he was seen approaching; the king of France courteously uncovered and bent his knee; he repeated the movement apparently unobserved; on commencing another repetition, the Pope hastily took off his cap and prevented the genuflexion by a kiss, nor would he replace his cap till the king had covered. Charles showing reluctance, his Holiness with his own hand helped to put the king's hat on his head, and they both covered at the same moment.*

In a more public interview which followed this, the king of France was prevailed upon to conduct himself like a good son of the Church, submitted to the usual ceremonies, and professed an obedience he was very far from feeling. Policy suggested his making what profitable use he could of the Pontiff for forwarding his own designs; but the latter entertained similar ideas; and when the king required the inves-

* Burchard, "Diar.," &c.

titure of Naples, he promised to consult the cardinals. He elevated one of the favourites of Charles to the Sacred College; and by other civilities kept him in good humour during the month he stayed in the city. This was a very gay season for the court, the members of which constantly sought the French king's quarters, and rivalled each other in their attentions.*

While all went merrily at Rome, came the startling intelligence of the abdication of the king of Naples in favour of his son, and his flight from his dominions. An attempt was made to defend Naples, but Charles entered it a conqueror on the 22nd of February, 1495, amid the acclamations of the people —which, however, did not last long.

His success was regarded with jealousy by the sovereigns of Europe, as well as the states of Italy; and a combination was formed for his overthrow, in which the Pope played a prominent part. Charles found it necessary to return to France, taking Rome on his way. Before his arrival Alexander fled with his cardinals to Orvieto, thence proceeding to Perugia. As the French army retired, the confidence of the Pope returned, and he devoted himself to the task of destroying the French dominion in Italy. This was accomplished with such success that after much difficulty the conqueror was only able to regain his own dominions with less than a fourth of his original armament.

There is a letter, July 18, 1497, from the cardinal to the Pope, Alexander VI.,† in which he acknow-

* "Commines," lib. vi. chaps. x. to xii.

† "Archives of Venice" (Rawdon Brown), 257.

ledged having received directions respecting an indulgence for the kingdom, together with a proposal for a subsidy for the Apostolic See; but though he had pressed it on the king, the writer asserts that he finds him averse to such instructions being put in force till the commencement of next Lent, when more devotion as well as more money might be expected. He professes a great desire to serve the Pope; but wishes to be excused having anything to do with the publication of the indulgence—a pretty strong proof that he objected to it; but his objections must have been directed quite as much against the source of this abuse, as against the abuse itself. For of all the pontiffs who had disgraced the chair of St. Peter, the reigning one was the most discreditable. Nevertheless, Cardinal Morton endeavoured to establish an influence at his court.

An attempt he then made to get Henry VI. canonized failed; but the pretensions of Archbishop Anselm were regarded with more favour, and he was inscribed on the Libro d'Oro of saints.

The failure of Charles VIII. did not deter his successor, who, having arranged with Cæsar Borgia for his share of the spoil, organized a league to assist him in the recovery of Milan, and the capital of Christendom again rang with warlike preparations. Alexander was the ally of the invader, and his son assisted materially in his success as commander of the papal forces. Louis XII. entered Milan as its sovereign on the 6th of October, 1499, and an equally triumphant entry into Rome was accorded to Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, now acknowledged lord of the Romagna, and con-

queror of Imola and Forli. For these successes the Pope presented him with the golden rose and the appointment of Gonfaloniere of the Apostolic Church of Rome. The cardinals were expected to rejoice; and to give the court and people an opportunity of doing so with the greatest possible zest, a carnival was ordered.

The most creditable event in the annals of the pontificate, was the return to Rome of the Cardinal de Medici, after experiencing many vicissitudes. Though the family had lost all influence in Florence, Alexander treated him with great consideration. That he had a politic motive for so doing there can be little doubt. Nevertheless, the residence of a prelate of so respectable a character was an advantage to Rome, and of special service to his brother cardinals, who by this time had learnt the magnitude of the mistake they had committed in the election of Alexander. The Borgias, father and son, presently made an armed demonstration for the ostensible purpose of restoring the Medici to their forfeited position in Florence; but were prevented from succeeding in their real purpose—the subjection of Florence—by the interference of the king of France.

Pope Alexander, the Diary of Brenca di Telini assures us, directed that the incomes of the priests and public officers within and without Rome, should be sequestrated for three years to provide for a war against the Turks; then presented the sum thus amassed to his infamous son, Cæsar Borgia. Of him the same authority states that he gave audience to no one except the executioner, Michael Otto, for whom he found constant employment. He was mag-

nificent in his household—from head-dress to slipper they were a blaze of gold and silver brocade. He is denounced as the cruellest man who ever lived; while it is averred that the pontificate of his father was distinguished only by atrocities, famines, and extortion.

Intelligence of these events circulated in England, and in no one caused more anxiety than in the cardinal archbishop. He does not seem to have entertained any ambition of pushing his influence further at Rome. He was quite satisfied with his more creditable dignities at home. In private life he appears to great advantage. He was eminently courteous and kindly, as a host welcomed to his house all scholars; and young men of promise found in him a discerning and liberal patron. He maintained a large establishment in a princely style, and on festive occasions spared no expense to provide them amusement. There were dramatic performances in which some of his youthful clients assisted. One of these was Thomas More, who was brought up in the cardinal's house, and as a boy displayed so much talent that his patron prophesied his proving a notable and rare man.

In due time the cardinal sent his protégé to finish his education at Oxford; and it is clear that in his subsequent career More did not lose sight of the obligations he had incurred. The "Utopia" commences with an imaginary conversation supposed to have taken place at the hospitable table of his patron. He there describes the cardinal as of middle size, in the enjoyment of a healthy old age, not more to be esteemed for his exalted rank

than for his profound wisdom and eminent virtues; though grave in deportment, and sometimes abrupt in manner, he was accessible to suitors, carefully discriminating those who were most worthy of his notice. He was singularly energetic, of comprehensible memory and extensive reading.

The eulogium is elaborate, and dwells upon the cardinal's ability as an administrator. In the colloquy the domestic fool at last is made to take part, who professes to have a new method of dealing with the poor; this is a law to compel the men to join the Benedictines, and the women to enter a nunnery. A monk, who happens to be present, abuses the privileged jester, till the cardinal interposing, the fool is sent away, and the subject of conversation changed.

There is much probability for supposing that the "Life of Richard III." owed the principal portion of its revelations to the author's patron,* given during conversations of which More took copious notes. The cardinal was in the habit of conversing freely on all topics with those whom he entertained at his table, and his easiness of access made him much liked by applicants for his favour.

At Oxford he continued so well to maintain his popularity, that when in 1494 the bishop of Lincoln resigned the chancellorship of the university, he was unanimously elected to the vacancy. The compliment he recognized by giving large donations for improvements and restorations in the Canon Law and Divinity schools, and for completing St. Mary's Church and Rochester Bridge.

* Harrington, "Metamorphosis of Ajax," 46.

De Puebla, writing to the king and queen of Spain, 25th August, 1498, says: "The cardinal of England, who is more in the interest of Spain than any one else, says that Ferdinand and Isabella must send the Princess Katherine to England, if they wish that King Henry should do what they desire. Her arrival would give so much security and so much courage to the king and the whole kingdom, that a war with France would no longer be feared."

This is a reference to the proposed bride of Prince Arthur, the king's eldest son, the Katherine of Arragon who subsequently figures very prominently in this and the succeeding reign.

The cardinal appears to have been constantly engaged in repairing or building: the palace at Canterbury, and the residences at Lambeth, Charing, Addington Park, and Maidstone; Wisbeach Church and Castle, Rochester Bridge, and the twelve miles of drain between Peterborough and Wisbeach, were indebted to his architectural enterprise for special improvements. The last, known as "Morton's Leame," was completed at his expense.

His growing infirmities at last put a stop to all enterprises and occupations. His health remained good notwithstanding his advanced age, till the year 1500, when he was attacked with a quartan ague, of which he died at Knowle on the 12th of October. His will is creditable to him as a philanthropist; for in it he bequeathed £128. 6s. 8d. for twenty years, for twenty Oxford and ten Cambridge scholars; about a thousand marks were to be distributed at his funeral to the poor. Eighty embroidered copes were left to Canterbury Cathedral; and to the king,

queen, Lady Margaret, the king's mother, and her namesake the king's daughter (his own god-daughter) he bequeathed a portiforium, his best psalter, a gold image of the Virgin, and a gold cup with forty pounds in coin. At a salary of forty pence weekly, two monks were directed to sing masses for the repose of his soul. No provision, however, seems to have been made for the repose of his remains. He was buried in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, before an effigy of the Virgin; but the tomb has long been empty, the bones and sere-cloth having been purloined. The skull, the last of the relics, was given away by Archbishop Sheldon to a relative of his own nearly a hundred years since.*

Cardinal Morton has left solid claims on the respect of posterity; but more enduring than his benevolent bequests, and his useful buildings and improvements, have been his labours to effect a reformation in the Church. They were not productive of much immediate result, but helped materially to bring about the vigorous movement which was successful in the following reign. His investigations proved beyond the possibility of doubt that the evils of the papal system had nearly reached their limit. The state of things in many of the clerical communities outraged not merely religious feeling, but common decency; but though it was quite as well known at Rome as in England, the papal court would not hear of any real change. Sometimes, as we have shown, they contented them-

* Anthony Wood, "Annals," i. 642.

selves with talking or writing reform; but discouraged any genuine demonstration made in its behalf. In fact, the Princes of the Church seemed to accept the notorious abuses as inseparable from their position of worldly grandeur. Since the death of the learned and munificent Nicholas V., they had apparently set public reproach at defiance, as if under the conviction that the Papacy would last their time, and they had determined to enjoy its advantages as long as they were permitted to form a part of it.

As we approach a period when an accurate record of elections in the Sacred College becomes more easy of access, the number of doubtful and obscure English cardinals is diminished. Still there are a few on whom this dignity has been conferred by some writers, and withheld by others. Of these there is Henry Chichele, alleged to have been created in 1428.* He was archbishop, and accompanied Cardinal Hallam to the council of Pisa. Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, is reported to have been included in the creation that elevated Hallam; he died in 1437. There is a curious letter of his extant, written to Henry V., who had desired him to make inquiries respecting a treasure-chest left in charge of the monks of Durham cathedral.† John Strafford was ambassador to the Pope, archbishop of Canterbury, and three times chancellor.‡ There is also Christopher Urswick, who is said to have

* Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ," 125.

† Ellis, "Original Letters."

‡ See Lord Campbell's "Lord Chancellors," for an account of him and his brother Robert.

died in 1521.* He was Christopher Bainbridge's predecessor in the deanery of Windsor, and their having the same Christian name has led Pits and other writers into several mistakes.

* Ciaconius. He is not in Godwin's list.

Book the Fourth.

ENGLISH CARDINALS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE, CARDINAL LEGATE.

His Rise in the Church—becomes Master of the Rolls, Bishop of Durham, and Archbishop of York—His Negotiations—Katherine of Arragon—Objections to her Second Marriage—Necessity of having a Good Pope—Election of Pius III.—Designs of the King of France—The Bishop and the Spanish Ambassadors—Louis XII.'s Invasion of Italy—Julius II. and his Campaigns—League against Venice—Martial Cardinals—The Archbishop sent on a Mission to Italy—is created a Cardinal Legate—The Holy League—Papal Disasters—Opposition Council at Pisa—Ariosto and the Pope—Death of Julius—Patronage of Art—Leo X.—Pontifical Pageants—The Pope and Cardinal Bainbridge—Events in Rome during his Mission—His Letter to Henry VIII. denouncing the Bishop of Worcester—The Bishop causes him to be poisoned—Statements of William Burbank and Richard Pace.

CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE, or Bambridge, for the name is as frequently met in one form as in the other, was born at Hilton, near Appleby, in Westmoreland, and finished his education at Queen's College, Oxford. He studied for the Church, and having obtained holy orders, became rector of Allen, in the see of Bath. By the year 1486 he had contrived to secure three prebends in the cathedral of Salisbury. He continued in the performance of

these duties till 1495, when he took his degree of Doctor of Laws, and was elected provost of Queen's College. The flow of ecclesiastical patronage set in again a few years later; in September, 1503, he became a prebend in York; in December following he was elected dean. Before two years had elapsed he had added the deanery of Windsor to his preferments. Having thus found an avenue to the court, he shortly utilized it to the extent of securing for himself a seat in the Privy Council, and the appointment of Master of the Rolls.

An exalted career was now assured. In 1507 he was promoted to the rich see of Durham, and in the following year succeeded to the archbishopric of York; but the seizure of the throne by the duke of Gloucester was not more advantageous to him than it had been to his contemporary Morton: both suffered from Richard's abuse of power. Ample recompense, however, came after the usurper had been disposed of at Bosworth. Henry VII. not only appointed him his almoner, but appreciated his abilities as a statesman and a diplomatist, and entrusted him with important employments. The archbishop was sent on a mission to the emperor Maximilian, which he conducted so satisfactorily that he was engaged to proceed on another to Charles VIII., king of France. Henry scarcely felt his position secure, and needed a good understanding with the principal European powers; and this his almoner laboured to produce.

The conduct of Henry VII. to the daughter of the king of Arragon had been anything but creditable: it was occasioned solely by his disinclination

to refund her marriage portion when his son Arthur died.* This created much ill feeling on the part of Ferdinand; but when the younger brother was proposed as her husband, the idea was favourably received both by Katherine and her father. The princess seems to have regarded her brother-in-law with a passion that excited the most intense hostility against any one who in the slightest degree opposed it. The person who first spoke of religious scruples was her Spanish confessor, without any communication with her husband or the privy council in England, King Ferdinand in Spain, or the papal court at Rome. The conscientious priest was recalled. Katherine hated him for having expressed such opinions. The Spanish ambassador, who had communicated them in his despatches, was also recalled; the princess hated him still more. After her second marriage, she was intent on making her father believe that she ruled paramount in England, and contrived to exercise the ambassadorial office till a new ambassador was appointed, keeping the king of Arragon under the impression that she was able to forward his policy.†

That Ferdinand intended making his son-in-law assist in his political schemes there cannot be a question, nor can there be the slightest doubt of his daughter's readiness to forward these before her

* If Arthur had lived, and Henry VII. had fulfilled his intention of educating his younger son for the Church that he might be archbishop of Canterbury, the latter would, of course, have become a cardinal, a contingency that would probably have altered the course of history in a striking manner.

† "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth).

second marriage. A craftier example of royalty than the king of Arragon was not to be found in Europe. A few years later Katherine, though a daughter of Spain, refused, with the connivance of her Spanish confessor, to lend herself to any of her father's schemes that might compromise her as the queen of England.

King Ferdinand, writing 24th September, 1503, to Ferdinand, duke de Estrada, respecting the marriage treaty between Henry, prince of Wales, and his brother's widow, Katherine of Arragon, refers to it in these terms:—

"Say likewise from us that he has already witnessed the injuries inflicted of late upon the Church, and upon Christendom, on account of there not being a good pope. He must see how much it imports the Church and Christendom that the Pope be righteously elected, and how necessary it is for the service of our Lord, and the wise government of the Church, and for the purpose of making resistance to the infidels, and securing the peace and welfare of Christendom. We therefore entreat him very affectionately that he will be pleased to write to his ambassador, who is at Rome, saying that if the Pope should not be already elected, he should, conjointly with our ambassador, endeavour to have a good pope elected, as we have said, and that the College of Cardinals should not be deprived of the liberty to make the aforesaid election canonically."*

In the election of Pius III. there had been an arrangement entered into by the Sacred College, and

* "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth), i. 314.

confirmed by their several oaths, that the new pope should pay 200 gold florins monthly to each of the cardinals by whom he was chosen, whose annual income did not amount to 600 florins. They were all to keep what they had acquired, and each to be absolved by the Pontiff of the crimes he had committed, however monstrous these might be; the absolution to have effect in both the spiritual and secular courts. Every cardinal was to be made as innocent as a babe at the baptismal font; moreover, the Pope was to allow each of them a castle in the neighbourhood of Rome, at his death to be given to his successor. This agreement is dated 21st September, 1503.*

The pontifical honours thus obtained were soon surrendered to a successor. Julius II. proved himself as earnest in endeavouring to increase the territorial acquisitions of the Holy See as Alexander VI. had been; but his enterprises were better directed. He infected the court with his military ardour, and when he marched with his army out of Rome, on the 26th of August, 1506, he was accompanied by twenty-four cardinals. His empire unquestionably was not peace, whatever it ought to have been. Perugia was in his possession by the 12th of September, Cardinal de' Medici having been left in command. On the 11th of the following month he entered Bologna as a conqueror.

The cardinals must have enjoyed this campaign extremely, as they never were in any danger. A portion of Romagna was conquered because it had not the power to resist; and whatever glory was

* "Archives of Simancas," vol. i. p. 310.

due to the Pontiff for his bloodless victories, must be due also to the Sacred College, by whom he had been so cordially supported. The Cardinal Regino was left to govern Bologna, and after sharing in the rejoicings of the people on the happy event, and subsequently in the magnificent hospitality of the duke and duchess of Urbino, on their return journey, they reached Rome delighted with this martial episode in their ecclesiastical career.

The experience they had acquired in the art of war was not long permitted to remain unemployed. On more than one occasion the principal European sovereigns had combined for the purpose of attacking and dividing some attractive territory. There seemed nothing to be gained by a crusade against the infidel; but fine provinces were to be secured by a league against a Christian power, incapable of any protracted resistance.

This projected spoliation was arranged in the city of Cambray, in the month of October, 1508, and the principal freebooters were the emperor Maximilian, Louis, king of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and Julius II., pope of Rome; the territory to be shared was that of the republic of Venice. The court of Rome was extremely in earnest in preparing for another campaign, which promised more glorious results than the last. There were the remaining cities in the Romagna to be secured; indeed, their anticipations were so very glorious, that when the Venetian government offered to surrender these cities, if the Pope would abandon the league, he refused. The republic failed to detach some of the other confederates. They implored help

from other states, and were denied. Chivalry in Europe seems to have died out in the last crusade, and apparently, to the unfortunate Venetians, truth must have perished with it—at least in the quarters in which it ought to have been found. The Cardinal Amboise asserted on the word of a cardinal that no harm was intended the republic, and King Louis assured their envoy that he was their sincere friend.*

The threatened storm burst upon Venice with the pontifical thunder, the state being placed under an interdict. Then the general of the Pope stormed their town of Brisinghalla, and put two thousand of its inhabitants to the sword. The Venetians were now attacked by a French army, and its success encouraged the other assailants, till little was left of the republic but the lagunes. The spirit of the Venetians, however, was roused, and collecting what forces were available, they gained several important successes.

The Pontiff, in his robes, marched at the head of his army; some of the cardinals followed his example. Ippolito, cardinal of Este, gained great distinction by a successful attack on a Venetian flotilla that was creating havoc on the Po. Julius having obtained what he wanted,—the remainder of the Romagna, felt no interest in the successes of the French or the reverses of the imperialists. He made peace with the Venetians, and not only removed the interdict, but strove to break up the league against them, and organize another against the king of France.

It was at this period that he opened negotiations with the young king of England, for the purpose

* "Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray," tome i. liv. i.

of inducing him to make a military demonstration on the French coast. His Holiness was then absorbed in his duties as a general; his cardinals in his train acting as aides-de-camp, governors, lieutenants, or in any other congenial capacity in which their military talents could benefit the Apostolic Church.

When not making war, the Pope was fulminating excommunications, which he seems to have dispensed with remarkable impartiality. In vain the king of France sent a cardinal to remonstrate; the ambassador was unceremoniously consigned to a chamber in St. Angelo. The King and the Emperor threatened a general council at Lyons; but king and kayser were defied. Mirandula held out, and though it was a severe winter, the Pontiff took the field with his ecclesiastical officers, marched against the city, directed the siege, and having effected a breach while the garrison were capitulating, he mounted a scaling-ladder, and entered the city sword in hand.

This capture having been effected, the Holy Father was off to attack Ferrara; but was not so fortunate. Then he hurried to Bologna, to meet ambassadors. The negotiations failing, he hurried back to Ravenna, which he presently left to the defence of the cardinal of Pavia, Francesco Alidosio, who in a short time was forced to flee for his life to Imola, and thence to Ravenna. Disasters were now experienced by the papal armies. Bologna was captured, and the pontifical troops sent for its defence dispersed. The cardinal of Pavia had not proved himself a great commander, neither had the

Pope's kinsman, the duke of Urbino. The latter gave a startling instance of his unfitness for military employment, by suddenly killing the cardinal with his dagger on meeting him in the street. This act was punished by temporary deprivation of his honours; but in a few months they were restored, and the duke again taken into favour.

As early as the spring of 1510 Louis, king of France, had designed not only the conquest of the Venetian republic, but that of the Pontifical states: he intended to take possession of Rome, and to have the Pope tried by a jury of cardinals, deposed, and another pontiff elected. It appears that some members of the Sacred College had been gained over. King Ferdinand was opposed to another sovereign obtaining so vast an influence in Europe as the subjection of Italy would give him, and entrusted his ambassador, Luis Caroz, with the task of inducing the young and apparently pleasure-loving king of England to assist him in thwarting the design.

The bishops of Winchester and Durham had to communicate with the Spanish ambassador on this subject, and took care to point out the danger of suffering the present preponderance of French influence in the College of Cardinals to continue, as a new election might be expected; moreover, they expressed their opinion that the existing pontiff ought to create more Italian cardinals to neutralize the French influence.

The Spaniard inquired, "Why more Italian cardinals? Would it not be better to elevate English prelates to that dignity?"

The bishops answered that their countrymen generally refrained from asking favours. If they had required them, there might have been more English cardinals. Subsequently each of the bishops waited privately on Caroz at his own house, and begged him to speak for them to King Henry as well as to King Ferdinand, that more Englishmen should be received into the college, and that they might be recommended for the distinction. On this understanding a treaty was soon concluded.*

To show the unscrupulousness of Ferdinand, it is only necessary to consult his instructions to his ambassador, Luis Caroz. If he could not persuade the king of England to follow his suggestions, he was to employ the influence of Katherine over her husband; were she to refuse to comply, her confessor was to persuade her that it was her duty as a Christian to do this; and should the confessor be reluctant, the authority of the Pope was to be called in.

King Louis contrived to obtain information of these proceedings, and precipitated his plans by causing his forces to march into Italy in 1510. He succeeded in reaching Bologna in the following spring. The papal and Venetian army were dispersed, the cardinal of Pavia was killed as he was making his escape, and the city declared in favour of the king of France. In Rome the aspect of affairs was terrible to good Catholics.

When Henry VIII. succeeded to his father's throne, the state of affairs in Italy demanded the presence of an experienced negotiator, of profound

* "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth).

judgment and exalted character; and the archbishop of York was sent on an embassy to Julius II.

On the 30th of September, 1509, the archbishop wrote from Winchelsea to Ruthal, bishop of Durham, recommending his servants to his care during his absence.*

An answer from the king to one of Bainbridge's despatches, dated Rome, 16th December, 1510, has been preserved in a mutilated state. It appears to have been written on the 31st of January; thanks him for the activity he has shown in his business with the Pope, gives instructions respecting the project of joining the league with the Emperor and the king of Arragon, and directs that the Venetians be included in the confederation. It enters into several other matters of less importance.†

About this period several of the opposition cardinals were corresponding with Henry VIII. There is in particular a joint production of four, dated from Milan, 2nd April, 1511, in which they assure him that they seek peace, not war, and the reformation of the Church.‡

Archbishop Bainbridge appears to have completely gained the confidence of Julius, who, either in recognition of his merit, or as a means of binding him to his interests, in March, 1511, elevated him to the dignity of cardinal, by the title of St. Praxede, and eight days later appointed him legate with the army he had sent into Ferrara, at that time

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 77—Rolls Publications.

† Idem, 214. ‡ Idem, 234.

besieging Brescia. Naturally he became a warm partisan of this enterprising pontiff, whose desire that the king of England should head an Italian league against France, he strenuously advocated.

Pope Julius made no secret of his prejudice against Maximilian. "He is a beast," he is reported to have said, "who requires to be curbed, instead of curbing others."* This pontiff impressed foreign ambassadors with an opinion of his sagacity and extreme reserve. He was more careful of his resources than the majority of his predecessors, and was estimated to have had in the papal treasury from seven hundred thousand to a million ducats. The sum was amassed by sharp practices, rivalling anything of the kind previously tried at Rome; for instance, when any clerical office became vacant, he bestowed it, for a consideration, on one who possessed preferment, taking the preferment to dispose of in the same way. The ordinary revenue is estimated at 200,000 ducats; the extraordinary, 150,000; but Julius contrived to secure two-thirds more. Of this he is reported to have spent little except in buildings and works of art. He had obtained a good deal of money by professing to establish a crusade against the infidel,—a favourite scheme at Rome for raising funds, in which he was largely assisted by the begging friars in different parts of the world,—one of whom, a Franciscan, succeeded in collecting for him 27,000 ducats.†

* "Sommario de la Relatione de S. Polo Capello, venuto orator di Roma, falta in Collegio," 1510. Ranke, Appendix.

† "Sommario de la Relatione di Domenego Trivixan, venuto orator di Roma, in pregadi 1510." Ranke.

By another authority—Branca da Teline, he is stated to have exceeded all his predecessors in what he did during his pontificate, subduing city after city with marvellous advantage to the papal see; not, however, without incurring a very grave responsibility, as they cost the lives of 10,000 men.

The cardinal wrote to Henry VIII. from Rome, 12th September, 1511, announcing that the Pontiff had heard on the 5th of the king's victories over the enemies of the Church. He apologises for allowing Cardinal Adrian to anticipate him in the intelligence, asserting that he bribed the papal secretary for a copy, that he might use it as a proof of his diligence. He says that Adrian was much more active in bringing about the reconciliation of the schismatic cardinals.*

He writes again on the 17th to Wolsey, then rising into favour, averring that the glory of the recent victory of the king is deemed immortal, and states that the benefice of Collington having become vacant by the bishop of Murray's promotion to Bourges, he is anxious to favour Wolsey and oppose the bishop, hoping his correspondent might obtain the preferment. If the king succeeds in the campaign, he intimates that the bishop may have but hard neighbourhood in his promotion, and be condign for his demerits.

It is addressed "To my right entirely loved brother in Christ, Master Thomas Wolsey, the king's almoner, and dean of my church of York."†

A joint letter (Sept. 17) from the cardinal and Sylvester Giglis, bishop of Worcester, describes the

* "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII., i. 669. † Ibid., 671.

effect produced in Rome by the news of the battle of Flodden, and the intrigues of the cardinals in the French interest to prevent the publication of a papal bull against the Scots. The Pontiff promised to send a resident in England with this document, but the writers desire that his intention be kept secret. In conclusion they mention the praise which the Pope has given to the king's Latin letters, averring that no papers come before the consistory from any of the princes of Europe that are more elegantly written.*

The court of Rome when not campaigning were negotiating. There seemed to be about as little honesty in the policy of Catholic Europe as religion in the councils of the supreme head of its faith. In the Italian governments, large and small; the law of the strong hand and the crafty head had long prevailed, and Machiavelli had satisfactorily demonstrated that a powerful prince must be independent of all vulgar notions respecting honour and equity. Julius II. was perfectly cognizant of the want of principle in contemporary potentates. He knew that to offer them a sufficient inducement was to secure their ready co-operation in a doubtful enterprise. The proverb that allows honour among humble depredators was not applicable to regal or imperial ones.

In this conviction the Pope and his cardinals now organized what, with the customary misapplication of terms, was called "The Holy League." It was ostensibly for the defence of the Church; it was really to punish the promoters of a threatened

* "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII., i. 671.

council at Pisa. The negotiating cardinals gained over the support of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, as well as that of his powerful son-in-law, the king of England; the first, by permitting him to rob his clergy of a tenth of their possessions; the other, by promising him an easy conquest of that rich province of Guienne which his chivalrous ancestor had won from the dominion of France. The Venetians were induced to help the Pope by considerations equally satisfactory. The fighting cardinals were now busy in recruiting the papal army, and added to its condottieri whoever would serve for pay.

On the 4th of October, 1511, this league was arranged between Pope Julius, King Ferdinand, and the republic of Venice, for the defence of the papal see. Cardinal Bainbridge was present when the treaty of alliance was signed; but not having received his instructions, did not himself sign it. On the 13th of the following month the king of England sent in his declaration of having joined the confederation.

The bishop of Worcester on the 11th of October forwarded a note to the king apprising him that the Pope had told him privately that Cardinal Bainbridge had advised legates to be sent to the Christian princes to arrange a confederation against the Turks, and requests Henry's consent.*

In an open consistory, called by Julius II. in 1512, to consider the terms Louis XII. had proposed to the Pontiff, Bainbridge, as the envoy of the king of England, addressed to his Holiness a vigorous exhortation not to abandon the cause of the Church,

* Ibid., 683.

but to proceed more vigorously with the war. This appears to have been pre-arranged in conjunction with Cardinal Arborense on the part of the king of Spain, for Julius had prepared for renewed hostilities by taking into his pay six thousand Swiss mercenaries. Cardinal Bainbridge continued in Italy pursuing his ambassadorial functions, associated with the bishop of Worcester.

One of the provisions of Henry's treaty with his father-in-law was a combined invasion of France to recover the provinces that had formerly belonged to the English crown; but the plan of the campaign appears to have been settled without any knowledge of the country. The marquis of Dorset, who had the command of the English expedition, was ill-qualified as a general, and owing to his mismanagement the enterprise proved a failure.

When all arrangements were completed, "The Holy League" was inaugurated in the capital of the Christian world with the most fervent rejoicings; the cardinals rivalling each other not only in the splendour of their entertainments but in the magnificence of their anticipations. The patrimony of St. Peter was to be indefinitely extended; the temporal possessions of the Apostolic Church as largely increased. As there would be handsome appointments for enterprising cardinals, their martial ardour became as conspicuous as their ecclesiastical zeal. The command of the papal army was given to Cardinal de' Medici, with the title of Legate of Bologna; and his earnest co-operation was secured by the promise of the restoration of his family to their former rule in Florence by an armed force under his direction,

after the French had been expelled from the States of the Church.

Even with popes, man proposes and God disposes. The Swiss contingent that was expected to dispossess France of the Milanese, had scarcely displayed their banner, on which was embroidered an inscription that declared them the defenders of the Church, when they accepted a bribe from the enemy, and marched home. The allies had commenced the siege of Bologna, when the celebrated Gaston de Foix relieved the city; and then the Spanish and ecclesiastical generals quarrelled. Soon afterwards, the Venetians were repulsed during a successful assault of the French commander on Brescia.

Though the French pursued a rapid career of triumph, the defensive resources of the Pope seemed to expand as his difficulties increased. The military cardinals were superseded by the negotiating cardinals, and more prospects of advantage were made to produce more material assistance. Fifty thousand florins bought off the young emperor Maximilian; the young king of England was induced to make a powerful naval demonstration on the French coast, and the king of Arragon to send an army across the Pyrenees. Then the military cardinals were again called into requisition; but as usual, they were not all on one side, for the Cardinal Sanseverino, legate of the council of Milan, in full armour, led a portion of the French troops in person. The Cardinal de' Medici continued to hold the supreme command of the army of the Church. On the 11th of April, 1512, these ecclesiastical heroes greatly distinguished themselves near Ravenna, where a terrible

slaughter occurred in the ranks of both armies. The successful general Gaston de Foix was slain, with many thousands of his countrymen, but the Spaniards and Italians were defeated with irreparable loss, and the Cardinal de' Medici was among the prisoners.

So great a disaster frightened even the most belligerent of the Sacred College, and nearly all the Romagna now fell an easy prey to the victors. About this time some prelates in the interest of France assembled to form the proposed general council at Pisa in opposition to the Pope. The consternation that prevailed in Rome induced the Pontiff to make preparations for flight; but while the cardinals were in council an intelligent messenger from the army arrived, whose representations so encouraged the court, that Julius took heart, and warlike resolutions were again in the ascendant.

The opposition cardinals at Milan were at first dealt with. The Pope held a general council in the church of St. John Lateran, on the 3rd of May, 1512, of all the cardinals and prelates he could collect; to these were joined the Italian princes and nobles, and the ambassadors of the Emperor, the kings of Spain and England, and of the Venetian republic. Their condemnation of the abortive council of Pisa was complete, and unanimous their support of the Apostolic Church.*

Louis XII. in his turn had become alarmed at the state of affairs in Italy, and the combination against him elsewhere, and had proposed to the Pope advantageous terms of peace. Julius concluded a treaty, which, among other favourable provisions,

* Guicciardini, i. 597.

promised the restoration of Bologna; the Holy Father excusing himself to his allies, by stating that he was imposing on the Most Christian king for the purpose of gaining time.*

The suggestions of the English and Spanish cardinals were in accordance with the policy of Julius, and he proposed a hostile message instead of a treaty of peace, which menaced France with spiritual denunciations, unless the Cardinal de' Medici were liberated; but the majority of the cardinals, who had not quite recovered from their recent fright, advised a conciliatory communication in the shape of a letter from each member of the Sacred College, requesting the restoration of the distinguished captive.

A new spirit was now infused into the allies, and success followed success till the French were completely driven out of Italy. During their retreat from Milan, the Cardinal de' Medici effected his escape in the uniform of a common soldier, and shortly resumed his legatine authority over the restored provinces. Everywhere the Pope was successful, including a little plot to entice the duke of Ferrara into Rome, whilst the papal commanders seized his dominions. Subsequently the kidnapped sovereign, with the assistance of some friends of the Colonna family, escaped from Rome, and, notwithstanding a hot pursuit and many dangers, returned in safety to Ferrara. The flight of his prisoner annoyed Julius more than the exposure of his treachery.

He had retired to a villa in the neighbourhood of Rome when informed that the poet Ariosto requested an interview. He was admitted; but no sooner was

* Bembo, i. 332.

the Pope made aware that the poet had been sent on a mission from his patron the duke of Ferrara, than his Holiness threatened to have him cast into the sea, unless he instantly quitted Rome.* The author of the "Orlando Furioso" lost no time in returning to Ferrara.

With the increasing authority of Julius was developed his independence of all considerations of clemency or justice. Another striking proof of this was made manifest in his treatment of the Cardinal Soderini. During the measures that were taken for the restoration of the Medici, he apprised his brother of the Pope's design against him, and instead of obeying his Holiness's invitation to Rome, the Gonfaloniere fled to the dominions of the Sultan.† The cardinal was committed to prison, and tortured to make him confess where his brother had taken refuge. His sufferings must have been very great, for he died a short time after his liberation; and his imprisonment had only lasted a few days. The gonfaloniere of Florence was reputed to be extremely rich, and the Pope had determined to appropriate his wealth.

The Florentines were not only deprived of their liberties, but were made to pay dearly for the change in their government. The success of the Pope in Tuscany was as perfect as it had been elsewhere; and he now looked about him like another Cæsar, not for new worlds, but for fresh kingdoms. Naples was to have been his next conquest, the king of Spain having displeased him; but an enemy stepped in, against whose attack he could make no defence. Julius II. died on the 1st of February, 1513.

* Tiraboschi, vii. 101. † Guicciardini, ii. 15.

Because this pontiff extended "the patrimony of St. Peter," his memory has been regarded with favour by many zealous Catholics; but others equally earnest in upholding their faith appear to have thought that he had mistaken his vocation. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the intensity of his belligerent spirit; attempts to do him justice in this direction have been made, particularly in a pasquinade that has been attributed to Erasmus, though of course denied by him. This pope is represented seeking admission at the gate of paradise. St. Peter calls upon him to give an account of himself. The Apostle listens to the statement, but does not recognize in it a sufficient claim for entrance there. His refusal to let him pass in so enrages the applicant, that he threatens to make war upon Heaven.

That he lost sight of his pretensions as "the Vicar of Christ" is generally allowed, and among Italian historians Guicciardini is most uncompromising in his judgment when referring to his martial predilections.* There can indeed be no question that if the Supreme Pontiff possesses spiritual functions of any kind derived from the Saviour and his Apostles, they are totally incompatible with celebrity as a shedder of blood. This deduction had for some time been forcing itself upon public attention in more than one part of Catholic Europe, and in Germany it only waited a favourable opportunity for declaration. The complete divergence from the practice of the early popes, as seen in the careers of Alexander VI. and Julius II., excited general observation among the religious community, lay and clerical.

* "Storia d'Italia," ii. 31.

Another letter from the king to Cardinal Bainbridge is dated 12th April, 1513, acknowledging his accounts of the death of Julius and election of Leo. It expresses gratification at the writer's having joined the league, but considers that the whole expense of the war will fall on England; and gives instructions as to what the cardinal is to tell his Holiness, especially as to his martial preparations, which certainly appear formidable. He hopes that the present pontiff will follow the policy of his predecessor, and by assisting in restoring peace, enable a Christian confederation to be organized against the infidel. A good deal follows respecting the schismatic cardinals, and the proceedings at Rome of the king of Scotland.*

Spinelly wrote from Brussels to the cardinal, 19th April, 1513, informing him of a treaty concluded between England and the Emperor, with reservations for the Pope and the king of Arragon. The Emperor was to declare against France within thirty days, when he was to receive the sum of 35,000 crowns, with an additional 60,000 three months later, on commencing an invasion of French territory. He states the military and naval preparations of England: "4,000 German auxiliaries have been engaged, besides 11,000, such as the French cannot equal. Never was such a navy seen, it is so formidable, that the French fleet prudently keeps out of sight." He adds that the king of France is angry with the Archduchess Margaret of Savoy for the favour she has shown England, and has threatened vengeance; to

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 530.

which the lady had replied that he might spit out his venom when he pleased, for she was safe under the English arrows. In conclusion he asks the cardinal to get a brief from the Pope for the new king of Denmark.*

Margaret of Savoy wrote to Cardinal Bainbridge from Brussels on the 30th of April, 1513, informing him that she had just spoken with the English ambassador (Spinelly) of a false league which the French have given out as having been arranged with the king of Arragon. She requests him to make the truce known to the Pontiff.†

The apostolic pretensions of the Church had been maintained with unexampled vigour; consequently the heterodox had refrained from intruding their opinions very prominently; nevertheless the apostolic pretensions of the Pontiff might have been questioned all over the Christian world. There were, however, some praiseworthy traits in Julius II., which admiring biographers love to dwell upon. All his conquests were attached to the dominions of the Holy See, with one exception—the city of Pesaro, which, with the sanction of the cardinals, was granted to his nephew, the duke of Urbino, he who had slain a cardinal in open daylight, and in the presence of many spectators, for having made a complaint against him of neglect of duty. The same principle ought to have actuated the Pope on this occasion that had made him deny the request of his daughter Felice, for a cardinal's hat for the half-

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 540.

† Ibid., i. 550.

brother of her husband—the evident unworthiness of the person requiring the distinction.

Much more to his credit was the discrimination he displayed in his own selection of prelates, and in his patronage of scholars and artists. But here his intentions had to be realized by his successor, for Julius had been obliged to satisfy himself with a limited amount of patronage. Ariosto, as we have shown, had little to boast of in the way of favour; but Bembo, Castiglione, and Flaminio were not so unfortunate as to possess friends of rank whose possessions were necessary for the proper development of the power of the Holy See.

Even in art patronage this pope showed himself as independent of ordinary religious feelings as in other manifestations of his pontifical rule. In architecture his bias was for the heathen temple, and he gave a severe shock to the long-established reverence of the Catholic world by pulling down a considerable portion of the metropolitan church of St. Peter, to erect a more classical structure. It was in vain that the strictly religious-minded ecclesiastics objected to the profanation; in vain the more prudent cardinals remonstrated against such desecration; if the Apostle had even ventured to complain of the violation of the sanctuary of innumerable saints and martyrs, it would have availed little. Julius desired to have a Pantheon; therefore the ancient basilica was doomed. The design of Bramante was of more interest to him than the partialities of cardinals, priests, or pilgrims. Worshippers might find objects of adoration elsewhere: what he wanted, was a fit place for exhibiting the genius of Raphael and

Michael Angelo. Therefore, the walls and sepulchres of a moiety of the sacred structure having been demolished, the munificent pontiff laid the first stone of its more imposing successor.

A complete reaction had taken place. The neglect which the court of Rome had shown to the classic monuments of their city was no longer a reproach. There now existed an enthusiasm for classic literature and classic art; indeed greater zeal was exhibited in Rome to collect a library of Greek and Latin authors, and a museum of classic monuments, than was manifested in securing the unadulterated text of the Gospels, or even in maintaining the orthodoxy of the Apostolic Church.

There were many close observers of the papal policy. The ambassadors accredited to the court of Rome from other states seem to have maintained a keen scrutiny of what was going on around them. To one Julius appears as a chess-player, putting forward or disposing of knights and castles, and checking kings, with consummate skill.* Another declares that the worldly principles of the Pontiff so influenced his conduct as to render him inordinately ambitious, and desirous of grandeur.† It appeared as though he had ignored the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the kingdom of God;" for whenever he made peace it was invariably with the view of being better able to make war. There were many other important texts

* "Il papa vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo."—(Sommario de la Relatione de Domenigo Trivixan.) "Ma ambitioso e desideroso di grandezze oltre a modo."—Vettori.

† "Sommario dell' Istoria d' Italia," MS. quoted by Ranke.

of which he was equally forgetful. In a word, he cared only to extend the temporal dominion of the Papacy, and in his untiring efforts in that direction achieved a brilliant success.

On the death of Julius, the cardinals then in Rome proceeded to the church of St. Andrea, on the 3rd of March, 1513, where the cardinal of Strigonia celebrated mass, and the bishop of Castello pronounced the oration *de Pontifice eligendo*. They went publicly to the customary place of assembly to elect his successor. Other members of the Sacred College shortly arrived, among them the Cardinal de' Medici; and a conclave of twenty-five having met, windows were closed, and all the usual ceremonies scrupulously followed. The important duty commenced. There was more than one aspirant for the dignity in the college, and jealousies and rivalries were not entirely absent. Cardinal Alborese had a considerable following among the seniors, and Cardinal de' Medici was as warmly supported by the juniors; neither, however, on a scrutiny, was found to have secured two-thirds of the votes.

Day followed day, and their deliberations continued: then Cardinal de' Medici contrived to detach from the party of his rival no less a person than Raffaele Riario, who had played a very prominent part in the conspiracy of the Pazzi; and by his influence he secured several of his friends. Cardinal Soderini, brother of the expatriated gonfaloniere of Florence, naturally regarded the protégé of the oppressor of his family with hostility; but Cardinal de Bibbiena disposed of his objections, and the favourable impression which de' Medici had created

in the minds of the Sacred College overpowered all minor influences.

It was the duty of this cardinal to examine the votes; and the conclave appear to have been charmed with the modesty with which he made the discovery that the choice had fallen on himself. At once the entire assembly joined in the act of adoration; this was followed by a general embrace and interchange of salutations. On being asked what name he chose, he fixed on that of "Leo X.," which gave universal satisfaction. One of the closed windows was then broken open, at which Cardinal Alessandro Farnese announced to the crowd outside the election of the new pope. He was placed in the pontifical chair; an imposing procession was formed of the cardinals and prelates, in the midst of which he was borne in triumph to the church of St. Peter, the clergy of the city uniting their voices in *Te Deum laudamus* as the procession passed into the sacred building and along its centre, till it reached the grand altar, where he was enthroned.

It so happened that Leo X., though he was a pope, was not a priest; for he had never been elevated above his original sacerdotal rank of deacon. He was admitted into priest's orders four days after his election, four days later was consecrated bishop; two days after which (March 19th) the last and more imposing ceremonial took place. Again the Princes of the Church and other ecclesiastics made a state procession to the church of St. Peter, where the Pontiff was robed as a priest ready for celebrating mass, and conducted to the grand altar by the master of the ceremonies, who bore a reed in

either hand, one supporting a lighted taper the other a piece of tow; and there kneeling before the Pope, exclaimed, "*Pater sancte! sic transit gloria mundi!*" as the tow was ignited and presently blazed out.

This great moral lesson having been thus dramatically demonstrated, the mass proceeded. After it had concluded, the Supreme Pontiff was presented to the people on the topmost step of the church, where the cardinals of Arragon and Farnese placed the tiara on his head. He then gave the papal benediction to the immense multitude of spectators; after which he was permitted to retire to his palace to receive the congratulations of friends and gratify the desires of expectants. On this occasion the requirements of the cardinals proved so extravagant that Leo, who was generous to a fault, was forced to reproach their greediness by telling them to take his triple crown, when, as so many popes, they might be able to appropriate what they liked.

There was still a good deal of the same sort of display expected from the new pope; for the Romans were inordinately fond of pageants and festivals, and the court of Rome never tired of them. To the grand spectacle of the Supreme Pontiff going to take possession of the Lateran, not only all the noble families in Rome contributed, but several independent princes hastened to show their respect for him; or sent ambassadors to be present. The Orsini and Colonnesi forgot their factions, and cordially joined in the demonstration; whilst the wealthy citizens publicly displayed every article of luxury that could add to its magnificence. Tapestry, pictures, goldsmith's work of

inestimable value, were hung out at the principal streets and squares, and the entire route was strewn with flowers.

Amid the acclamations of the rejoicing crowd, lay and clerical, Leo X. made his way to the church of St. Giovanni Laterano, and was conducted by its clergy to a marble chair. Presently he was raised from his seat by three cardinals, as they chanted, "Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem." The sentence was not applicable to the present pope, whose antecedents had been the reverse of humble, but was a portion of the service, and in many instances suggested a remembrance of the modest origin of the individuals elected for distinction.

Having gone through this part of the ceremonial, he proceeded through the church to the altar, where, after prostration, he received pontifical investiture. He now went into the chapel of St. Silvestro, where the nobles kissed his feet and the prelates his hand; each of the cardinals receiving from him two silver medals, with one of gold: the bishops had to be content with one silver medal. Thence, after a sufficient rest, he proceeded to the Hall of Constantine, where he was formally placed in possession of the patrimony of St. Peter; finally he returned in the evening with the same splendour to the pontifical palace.

One of Pope Leo's first acts was to assure the princes of Europe of his wish to establish a general peace. The desire of Louis XII. to effect a reconciliation with his more powerful enemies, that he might be enabled to recover his influence in Italy,

afforded him material assistance in this direction. Besides addressing pacific communications to the late belligerents, he cultivated a friendly intimacy with their accredited envoys at his court. He paid particular attention to the cardinal archbishop of York, who continued at Rome in his ambassadorial character.

Cardinal Bainbridge on his first acquaintance with De Giglis appears to have written home in his favour. In a letter dated Rome, June 25, 1513, he writes to the king:—"My Lord of Worcester, your Grace's oratour here, hath and doeth daily unto your said Grace right good service in all your causes, by reason of the very good favour that he is in with the Pope's Holiness."*

The cardinal wrote to Henry VIII. at Rome, 10th of June, 1513, "at three of the clock after that the sun was set," announcing the result of the battle of Novara, when the duke of Milan, with 5,500 Swiss, reinforced by 7,000 more, was assailed by 8,000 French. He says that the latter were defeated, with the loss of their commander, the duke de la Tremouille, his two sons, and nearly all his officers; and that the Pontiff on hearing the news had shot a peal of guns from St. Angelo. He adds that the Romans expect to hear daily that the English have exterminated the French.†

He wrote again on the 25th, correcting his former statements, and giving further particulars of the battle. He informs Henry that the Pope had granted him two briefs confirming the grants of his prede-

* Dr. Fiddes, "Life of Wolsey."

† "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII., i. 599.

cessor, and has assured him that he will respect his promise to the king; but cannot yet declare against France, he being bound to maintain the peace of Christendom. Then he refers to the proceedings of the "schismatic cardinals," and suggests that the king should not receive the legate who is to be sent to treat of peace, as the affair is a sham. He adds, "All here have regard only to their own honour and profit; therefore I doubt not that your Grace will do the same."*

On the 7th of July he informed Ruthall, bishop of Durham, that the Pope is proceeding marvellously well, and that he has induced his Holiness to send four prelates, to the Emperor, to England, Arragon, and France, instead of legates as desired by the conclave. He says that Cardinal Adrian desired the post of legate to England and to the Emperor; but that he is as partial a Frenchman as the writer is an Englishman; adding, "I pray God give him evil tryste."†

A letter from Leo X. to Henry VIII., dated Rome, 29th October, 1513, directs the interment of the body of the king of Scots, and states that though Cardinal Bainbridge had been commissioned to excommunicate James, yet, as it is presumed that he gave some sign of repentance when in extremity, he is permitted to be buried with funeral honours under the superintendence of Richard, bishop of London.‡

The English cardinal enjoyed a large share of

* "Letters and Papers," i. 622. A portion of this despatch has been printed in Dr. Fiddes' "Life of Wolsey."

† Ibid., 637. ‡ Ibid., 705.

the confidence of Leo X.; indeed, he was allowed to be on far more intimate terms with this pontiff even than he had been with his predecessor; but there was as much difference in the characters of the two popes as in their mode of government. Cardinal Bainbridge was frequently consulted, and had to listen to suggestions respecting foreign policy, which it was intended he should communicate to his sovereign with as little delay as possible. Leo had written more than once to Henry, and his project of an alliance between him and Louis XII. was now proposed to his ambassador. It has been asserted that the cardinal wrote home expressing disapproval.*

The king of France was still further humiliated during the eighth session of the Lateran council at the close of the year 1513, when his envoys were introduced for the purpose of formally renouncing the proceedings of the council of Pisa and accepting those of the Lateran. After they had promised that the six French prelates, who had taken part in the former, should appear in Rome to complete the submission of the Gallican Church, full absolution was accorded him.

When the French ecclesiastics whom Julius had pronounced schismatical entered Rome and with proper humility presented themselves to the Pope to secure a promised reconciliation, the English cardinal, and one of his colleagues from the Helvetic state, pointedly absented themselves. The ceremony was

* "Ce qui est certain c'est que le Card. d'Yorck, Christophe Bembrice, ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Rome, qui sçavoit les intentions du Pape, écrivoit souvent à son maitre pour le dissuader de faire la paix."—"Ligue de Cambray," ii. 363.

made as degrading as possible to the offenders; but having endured it, they were restored to their privileges as princes and prelates.

During "the Cardinal of England's" stay in the city, that had now become not only the capital of the Christian world but the metropolis of art and learning, he enjoyed the fullest opportunities for observing the efforts of the enlightened pontiff who then wore the tiara for advancing both. The impulse there given to classical and oriental scholarship spread far and wide, and was not long before it manifested itself in England. The progress made in the arts of design by the liberal patronage and refined taste of Leo produced as large a measure of good in other countries, and though some little time elapsed before its advantages were fully developed, the impression became as lasting as it was beneficial.

There is a letter extant from Francis, marquis of Mantua, gonfalonier, dated 17th March, 1514, to the cardinal, thanking him for procuring him the king's favour, and desiring to present his majesty with a pair of the best horses in his stables.* The marquis, on the 28th, wrote to the king of England, announcing that he had sent four horses.†

The cardinal grew dissatisfied with the want of consideration shown to his interests in England, and on the 18th of June, 1514, wrote a letter of complaint to the king, of injustice done to his servant, reminding him of his services.‡ On the 19th, the Pope writes to the king that the bishop of Worcester is to communicate his wishes to the king.§

* "Letters and Papers," i. 767.
† Ibid., 773.
‡ Ibid., 827.
§ Ibid., 830.

That there was some intrigue going on in England against the cardinal, seems evident from a letter written by Fox to the Italian bishop of Worcester, at Rome, stating that the writer had seen the papal briefs sent by the Pontiff to express his desire for a general peace, and averring that the king is desirous of obliging the Pope in all things. He directs his correspondent to negotiate the business, as it would sooner in his hands come to good effect, than if left to be treated with great persons, "with their morose gravities, great pomp, ceremonies, and solemnities."

He says that the cardinal of York, so long the king's ambassador at Rome, cannot be sent as *legate à latere* either to the Emperor, or to England, without suspicion, and that the king is unwilling to admit such an official into England or Calais; therefore the Pontiff must provide, that in case he is sent as legate into Germany, he be not allowed to exercise that authority in places where the Emperor may be staying. It is also stated that the cardinal has announced an intention of the Emperor and the king to meet at Calais in May, where he intends to be in his legatine capacity.*

On the 17th of the following December, Leo X. wrote to Henry VIII. to the effect that he understands the king's disinclination to permit the cardinal as legate to enter into pacific arrangements without the consent of the confederates. The Pontiff avers that he does not wish Bainbridge to abandon them, but to take away their hostility, and sow among them the seeds of peace; which he, the

* "Letters and Papers," i. 708.

Pope, is enforced to do by his engagements to the Lateran council, and his obligations to promote the unity of Christendom; and as the holy purpose for which the king had recourse to arms has been secured, his Holiness hopes he will listen to proposals for an honourable peace.*

So deeply interested was Leo in the subject, that he wrote again on the 19th, averring that he would not have sent a legate to England, if it could have been avoided; but that he is obliged, as a pastor, to fulfil the resolutions of the conclave. He requests the king will permit the cardinal of York to enter England, as he, the Pontiff, prefers him to any other person for that mission, which he has induced him to accept, though against his inclination. He will communicate the Pope's secret intentions regarding peace and war. He adds that he is under the impression that the king wrote to his predecessor to appoint the cardinal as legate.†

The bishop of Worcester addresses Henry on the 31st, but without any reference to the proposed legate. He merely announces the papal consecration of the sword and hat that the Pope had sent to the king.‡

The archbishop of York, as a member of the College of Cardinals, as well as of the diplomatic body, enjoyed the most favourable opportunities for seeing and knowing what was going on in Rome. Among other grand scenes daily enacted in that important theatre, he was present at the public reception by the Pope, of an embassy from the king of Portugal, then in high repute as a patron of geographical

* "Letters and Papers," i. 709. † Ibid., 710. ‡ Ibid., 712.

discovery in the East, when the presents included a respectable menagerie—a huge elephant, a pair of leopards, a panther, &c. &c., which, with a stud of Persian horses, were paraded in procession through the city, preceded by a herald, till they reached the place in which his Holiness awaited them at one of the windows of his palace, when the elephant stopped, knelt, and bowed three times; finally, a vessel full of water having been brought for his refreshment, the monster filled his trunk, and scattered its contents among the spectators. There was a rhinoceros originally in the collection, but he had been accidentally killed while in course of shipment. The spectacle was made more sensational a week later, in the conservatory adjoining the pontifical palace, by a public display of the ferocity of some of the animals in taking their prey.

Other valuable gifts accompanied these, and the Pope was so gratified that he not only sent the donor the prized gift of a consecrated rose, but bestowed on his majesty all his newly acquired possessions, as well as all the countries that might be discovered; enrolled an amiable Portuguese queen among the saints, and some pious Portuguese colonists in Africa among the martyrs; lastly, granted him a considerable portion of the emoluments of his clergy, for the purpose of carrying on the war in Africa, together with the privilege of presentation to all ecclesiastical preferments in countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

We have already intimated that Cardinal Bainbridge had an episcopal colleague. Evidence came before him that this man, an Italian by birth, was

playing a double game, and he lost no time in acquainting his sovereign with what he had discovered. As the letter, besides its interest as an historical document, produced important results, we give it entire :—

Cardinal Bainbridge to Henry VIII.

"Please it your Grace,—At sundry times heretofore I have written unto the same, the demeanours of sundry persons, that of duty should in word and deed be your Grace's true and faithful subjects, which me seemed should have been looked upon, and hithertoward been little regarded by your Grace's most honourable council. Albeit during the time of my abode here at this court, I neither can nor will desist to signify unto your Highness such things as I shall perceive that be dissonant either to your Grace's honour or wealth of your realm. If my writing shall be regarded by your Grace and your said most honourable council, I shall be very glad; if not, I shall most humbly beseech your Highness to accept my good mind, and to remember hereafter that as your true and faithful subject I did my duty in that behalf.

"As touching my lord of Worcester, your Grace's orator of late time, his secretary upon the dark night was met coming forth of the French king's orator's house, the bishop of Marsilia, with a torch-light borne behind him; and where his way towards his master's house lay straight by my gates, he went by the other way homeward by a secret back lane, a good space from thence: hereof is true and honest record. The said French orator

is known manifestly towards your Grace and realm, as great an enemy as of his power is any other within the realm of France. Your said orator doth use continually the company of the protector of France, both in the city and also in vineyards and gardens without the city, both by day and night, whereof right honourable men, your Grace's friends, hath, at sundry times, advertised me; and that he is more familiar with him than with any cardinal in Rome.

"It is perfectly known unto every Englishman within this city, that hath been in company with your said orator, that nothing can be more odious unto him than to hear of any prosperous succession of your Grace's causes, or for to hear any honour spoken of your realm or subjects. Whatsoever hath been showed here concerning your Grace's honour, either by writing from England, or other places, upon your most noble acts and victories obtained against your enemies, he hath both openly and secretly diminished it by his words to the extremity of his power. This thing is here manifest both to Englishmen and others. Your said orator's secretary showed unto a right credible person that his master, with the said protector of France, did triumph and make good cheer together, using these words, 'Let these barbarous people of France and England every one kill the other; what should we care thereof, so we have their money to make merry withall here—no force of the rest.'

"Sundry cardinals and many other great men also have shown me that they marvel your Grace

would use such an infamous person to be your orator, who is named here universally the Falsarie orator of England. I doubt not but that some of your Grace's council will say unto your Highness that I do speak this upon malice, as peradventure they have said heretofore, when I have likely written against others; and that I was mean to bring him into Rome in Pope Julius' days. Also that I solicited the Pope's Holiness to admit him to the room of your Grace's orator, using him conjointly with myself in your Grace's causes unto now of late; and that I have answered your Highness by letters by us both subscribed, thinking thereby, that of much less congruence I may thus write against him. Verily I may not say unto your Grace that I bear towards him any great favour, and that pardie, for his untruth shown towards myself, which I trust is not unknown to your Grace and your most honourable council; for where in all my letters sent unto your Grace, I used both his knowledge, advice, and subscription, he did procure things of your Highness by his own writings, without either my knowledge, consent, or subscription, though all I had like authority as he had, which but only for my truth and diligence known here in your Grace's causes, had been to my most extreme dishonour. Albeit I bear him much less favour for his untruth towards your Grace and realm, which I daily perceive more and more.

"Whatsoever I wrote against other men heretofore, I assure your Grace I wrote unto the same the very truth, and nothing else. It is of truth I brought him into Rome, in Pope Julius' days, only

at your Grace's desire and commandment, which was in manner to my infinite labours and business; at which time, so God me help, Pope Julius showed me expressly that though for your Grace's sake, and partly at my desire, he was contented to suffer him come to Rome, as a private person — never to be in office there, nor authority — he should undoubtedly within short space serve either your Grace or me, or both, as untruly as he had done him. His Holiness showed the same to the ambassador of Arragon, in my absence, as the said ambassador showed me. I do perceive the said monition soundly coming to pass. I pray God that hereafter it be no worse.

"In like manner I moved the Pope's Holiness, that now is, for his admission as your Grace's orator, by your said commandment; and so long as I see him diligent in your said causes, perceiving in him no untruth nor suspicion, I used him accordingly, and made of him like report unto your Grace. But after that, not only by report of many men, but also that manifestly I perceived the contrary, I neither have solicited your causes with him, nor suffered him to subscribe my letters, nor (your Grace not offended) I never intend to do during my life. Wherefore, notwithstanding my evil will that I bear towards him, upon my faith and truth I do write nothing against him but only very truth, and what is either manifest or probable. Where lately I showed unto the Pope's Holiness the letter from your Grace's ambassadors, myself sole, not calling your said orator thereunto, though all it was directed unto us both; whereof I sent you answer from his said Holiness,

according to your commandment; verily I so did only for the causes premised.

"As touching the breve super nomine Christianissimi Regis—whereof I sent unto your Grace a copy of long time past, with the Pope's pleasure, also how he was contented to write with the same style in all his breves that he should direct unto you after that he knew your Grace should be contented therewith, and that he was advertised by you in that behalf—I do greatly marvel that I never since had word of your Grace receiving thereof, nor your foresaid pleasure. Because I never could see your said orator contented with the obtaining the said breve, nor that labour should be made for special confirmation thereof (which he ever reputed in manner impossible to be got), I can therefore much rather conjecture that by some crafty way he hath been a bar that your letters should come into my hands with that intent. If your said letters have come into his hands only, then I think verily he hath solicited the matter rather after his own appetite than for your Grace's honour.

"Your Grace shall receive with these presents a letter directed unto the same for my lord the cardinal of Swices ad Sedener. I do perceive by his sundry letters lately sent unto me that both his said lordship and his countrymen continue perseveringly in their good and perfect mind towards your Highness and your most blessed and honourable enterprise, which I shall beseech the Blessed Trinity to make fortunate, with the prosperous preservation of your most royal and high estate. From Rome, the xxth day of May, 1514."

Postscript, entirely in the Cardinal's hand.

"I doubt not your Grace, in your accustomed wisdom, do perceive what truth, love, and kindness is found in strangers, as well towards your Highness as other of your subjects, in these your great affairs and enterprise, and that from the highest degree unto the lowest. Then I shall beseech Almighty God to preserve the same, and that it may be my fortune to see your Grace, and find the same where the good memory of Pope Julius wished I should.

"Rome, ut supra, by your most humble subject and beedman,

"CHRI. EBORUM CARDINALIS ANGLIÆ."

There is reason to believe that not only was the bishop of Worcester false to his employer, but that he was as vindictive as he was traitorous.

Whilst Cardinal Bainbridge was engaged in carrying on important negotiations, his career was cut short in a way by no means unfamiliar to the annalists of princely ecclesiastics and other distinguished men in the country in which he was a resident. It was alleged that, in an angry discussion with an Italian priest, a member of his household, the cardinal had ventured to strike him; and that in revenge, a dose of poison had been secretly administered, with fatal effect. The crime was speedily discovered, Rinaldo da Modena, the assassin, seized, and the rack elicited a full confession. While under torture, he accused the bishop of Worcester—the traitor whom the cardinal had in the letter to the king denounced a short time before—of having excited him to commit the deed. When unbound, to add his signature, he made

a desperate effort to escape from the executioner's hands. He inflicted a severe stab on himself, with the evident intention of making it mortal. Nevertheless, he was hanged and quartered in public with the usual formalities.*

William Burbank had been in attendance on the cardinal, and wrote to Henry VIII. the following statement of the case, dated 28th August, 1514:—

"Please it your most excellent Grace, to wit, that as touching the cause [of the] death of my lord and master my lord cardinal, your Grace's late orator, because that, as well before his departure by the physicians as after, by a[nother] man that opened his body by the Pope's commandment, it was judged [that] he should have been poisoned, or at the least great tokens, and as some [of them] said, manifest things thereof appeared, the Pope's said Holiness hath since caused most diligent and exact examination to be made upon the same. And by cause that it was known to all most manifestly that the bishop of Worcester, now your Grace's orator, was enemy unto my said lord, it was suddenly noised through the city that he should have [been the] author of this great pretended offence.

"A certain priest named Rinaldo [of] Modena was much in my lord's chamber, and always dear and fa[miliar] with the said bishop of Worcester. Upon suspicion, he was taken by [the] Pope's commandment and set in Castle St. Angelo. By cause that I should conduce home my said lord's com-

* Baldassare da Pescia ad Lor. de' Medici, 28th Aug., 1514, MSS., Flor. Quoted by Roscoe, "Life and Pontificate of Leo X.," note, 271.

pany, and come unto your Grace, his Holiness commanded me to be continually at the said examination d[irected] by the auditor of the chamber, his castellan, two bishops, and the fiscal, with sundry notaries, to the intent that I, seeing the order thereof, should so make relation unto your Grace.

"I tarried there while three days after my said lord's departure had expired, so that then our company [having] no house to tarry in, but must needs depart. All this time the said Rinaldo would nothing grant of his offence or knowledge committed in this behalf. Albeit he granted that many times he revealed my lord's secrets unto the said bishop, and sundry other things, whereby the judges thought him worthy to suffer torture, and delivered unto his learned counsel a [copy] of his said confession for his defence, with sufficient respect of time to answer unto the same according to the law. Whereupon, supposing no [other] confession to have been made by the said Rinaldo, I took my leave [of the] Pope's Holiness, and so my journey homeward, this night being in [the city] of Florence.

"Your true and faithful servant, my fellow, Master Richard Pace, hath sent unto me his letters, desiring me to advertise your Grace upon [the] contents of the same. He writeth that the said Rinaldo, within [some] time of his deliberation to answer freely and without managing of any creature, hath openly confessed that he himself put poison into my said lord's pottage, at the desire and conduction (inducement) thereunto of the bishop of Worcester; this he did soon after the feast of Corpus Christi last. He confessed that the said bishop gave him for his labour in this behalf fifteen ducats of gold, some

large and some de camera. Item, that the said bishop said these words unto him: 'If we rid not this cardinal of the world we shall never be in quietness.' Item, he confessed that one Stephen, secret chamberlain unto the said bishop of Worcester, was [privy] thereunto. He said he did buy the said poison in a city named Sp[oleto], not very far from Rome, and kept it a good space in his chamber under a tile stone.

"All this his confession is written in the proctor's book by his own hand, *in processu*. And since the said Rinaldo [hath] written this his confession in his own hand, and hath confessed the same unto my lord cardinal de' Medicis, your Grace's protector, whom the Pope's Holiness (after he was informed of the said judges hereof) sent purposely to know his very truth. Not only the said Rinaldo hath thus confessed, and written the same of his own hand, but also confirmed it with a great oath. He made this confession freely, to the intent it should be shown immediately to the Pope's Holiness, supposing thereby that the said Holiness should have granted him his life; and desired the same of my lord de' Medici, who answered that he should have pardon of all things that he had confessed, which was theft and many other enormities, save only of killing my lord cardinal. Upon the morrow after, the said Rinaldo, with a small knife he had secreted, smote himself, wilfully intending to have killed himself, and thereof is on the point of death, as is supposed without recovery, and says that he knows perfectly [he is] to be perpetually for this act damned.

"My said fellow writes that the said bishop hath obtained such friends by means of his money that

he trusts to escape this jeopardy of correction, and also that some your Grace's lovers showed him since my departure from Rome that the Pope's Holiness would gladly have the matter coloured —upon the bishop's part especially, for that service that the said bishop should have done for his Holiness in procuring (so far as in him was) peace between your Grace and the French king. Verily I cannot believe that his Holiness ever intended this, remembering so strait examination as he hath caused to be made herein, and from the beginning thereof knew perfectly that all suspicion hereof was only against the said bishop. And I trust verily his Holiness will advertise your Grace right shortly upon the whole process made in this behalf; for in the beginning of this examination he said he would 'reddere rationem sacræ Majestati vestræ super interitu cardinalis sui.' Besides this, all the whole college will call for the correction hereof.

"He writing to me also that now all Rome is full of the rumour of this detestable act, the aforesaid Stephen is taken and set in the castle. Some there be that hath noised in Rome how that the poison should have been sent from England by some prelate there, being enemy unto my said late lord, and procured the same to be ministered unto him by his cook. Whereupon sundry men hath enquired the same, both of my said fellow and me; whereunto we answered that our master had no such enemies in England, nor that prelates of England and English born were ever disposed unto any such acts.

"My said fellow writeth that he is informed by some your Grace's friends, that since the said confession was shown unto the Pope's Holiness, much

secret labour hath been made unto the same; that the aforesaid Rinaldo should revoke or excuse his said confession made against the said bishop. In his confession making [he] desired the Pope's Holiness instantly to regard the said bishop's [guilt] and to have compassion upon him. Else he said he must needs be undone, though it were but only by means of my Lord Cardinal Adrian.

"In all haste possible after that knowledge came unto me, I did despatch this bearer towards your Grace, for to advertise the same of the premises. My said fellow writes nothing what order is intended for the correction hereof. I have therefore written unto him that in any wise he shall signify unto your Grace when, and as soon as the said order shall be determined."*

Burbank and Pace communicated to the king the subsequent proceedings of the authorities at Rome in reference to this atrocious deed; from which it appears that the priest died of his self-inflicted wound, and that the bishop was imprisoned. In the course of his letters, Pace thus defends the poisoned cardinal: "For though my late lord had, I cannot deny, some vices, I do take God to be my judge he was the most faithful man to your Grace his prince that ever was born, and most vehement in the defence of your Grace's cause when no other man dare open his mouth to speak, save he alone."†

There is a later communication from Pace to Wolsey, dated 10th of September, from Rome, in which the former describes what he has done with the property left by the late cardinal. He recom-

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i. 99. † Ibid., 110.

mends that the dead man's brothers and kinsfolk may not be deprived of their legacies; moreover, states that the Pope owes him seven hundred ducats, which he cannot obtain. "As for the poisoning of my late lord cardinal," he adds, "it hath been in the hands of the greatest learned men in Rome, and determined by the most part of them, that my said lord was poisoned in such manner as is comprised in the commission of him that did it, sent by me unto the king's Grace. I may not write herein that I do know. The bishop of Worcester hath marvellous great favour ad occultandam veritatem, sed immortalis Deus tam horrendum scelus videtur odisse."*

He writes again to Wolsey on the 13th, stating that he is persecuted by the bishop of Worcester, who is endeavouring to beggar him in revenge for his charging him with being an accomplice in the cardinal's assassination, which he wishes to avenge for the sake of truth. Pace is not inclined to let the matter drop. He writes again,† both to Wolsey and the king; but a strong influence in favour of the bishop prevailed in Rome and in London. Not only were the goods of the poisoned prelate sequestrated while in the hands of his legally-appointed executor, but every attempt was made to vilify his memory. One of Wolsey's agents, William Shvagger, apparently in the interest of the bishop of Worcester, expresses the most virulent animosity against the dead man, and hopes that his correspondent will not imitate his vices.‡

There were other communications forwarded from

* "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII., i. 877.

† Ibid., 879. ‡ Ibid., 942.

Rome with intelligence of the cardinal's death and the proceedings taken against his murderer; but though the Pontiff wrote to the king of England on the 21st and 24th of July,* he does not venture to refer to the subject. The Cardinal Sion made application to gain the vacant archbishopric, through Knight, the English agent at Berne.† The bishop of Lincoln was permitted the custody of the deceased primate and the temporalities of the vacant see by the king, on the 5th of August.‡ The Pope did not notify the cardinal's death till the 17th, and then very briefly.§ Cardinal Adrian wrote to Wolsey to the same effect on the 20th, with the same reserve; Cardinal Surrentius on the 22nd, while announcing the event, states that the cardinal was a little too strict in maintaining the king's honour, and expresses the regret all have felt at his fate.‖ The implicated bishop of Worcester writes on the 24th and 26th, to Wolsey and Fox, and merely refers to the affair, at the conclusion of the last, but only to the stigma attached to him by some of the late cardinal's domestics.¶ In another communication from him, addressed to Wolsey on the 31st, he endeavours to exculpate himself by the assertion that the culprit was always a madman.**

The Italian bishop contrived to retain his position at Rome. He was not idle. He said and did everything in his power to injure Burbank. He not only wrote to Wolsey, but to the king, exculpating himself from the heinous charge that had been brought against him, and repeating his assertion that Rinaldo

* "Lettres de Louis XII.," tome iv. 342-3.
† "Letters and Papers," i. 846-7. ‡ Ibid., 853.
§ Ibid., 860. ‖ Ibid., 864-5. ¶ Ibid., 864-5. ** Ibid., 860.

was insane. Whether his representations or his money produced the greater influence, it is certain that, to some extent at least, he was believed.*

The Pope caused the poisoned cardinal to be buried with due honours in the English church at Rome dedicated to St. Thomas, and in a Latin epitaph his princely dignity is recorded as having been conferred for the eminent service he had done the Holy Roman Church during his embassy from England, and subsequently by assisting in her defence while acting as legate with the papal army.†

The church in which the cardinal's monument was placed was destroyed soon after the breaking out of the first French revolution. Some of the monuments, however, were preserved; among them was the one erected to honour the memory of Bainbridge. On a white marble slab, his figure, the size of life, was carved, wearing a chasuble of the antique form, with I. H. S. on the breast and gloves; it is now to be seen in the cloister of the English College, on the left hand as the visitor enters the gate. In the year 1833 Cardinal Wiseman, then rector of the college, placed there a tablet, with the following inscription:—

Vetusta Monumenta
Hospitii et Collegii Anglorum
Quæ post vices temporum supererant
Nicolaus Wiseman, Rector,
Restituendo et in hunc locum colligenda
curavit.
A. M.DCCCXXXIII.‡

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* He had succeeded his uncle in his bishopric, of which Wolsey was the commendatory. He died at Rome, April 16th, 1521.

† Aubery, "Histoire Générale des Cardinaux." Ciaconius.

‡ "Notes and Queries," xii. 411.

Among the creditable actions of Cardinal Bainbridge must be recorded his patronage of that able scholar and diplomatist Richard Pace. As a boy he had attracted the notice of Bishop Langton, who was particularly pleased with the talent he displayed in music,—an art in which proficiency was then rare. Under the Bishop's auspices his other great natural gifts were cultivated; and when his progress was beyond a question, the promising student was sent by him to Bologna, to reap the sterling advantage of study under the famous Bombasius. He subsequently proceeded to Padua, where he found his countrymen Tonstall and Latimer, by whose profound knowledge of classical literature he largely profited.

He had been taken into the service of Dr. Bainbridge when the latter was provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Bishop Langton left him an annual pension of ten pounds in his will, dated the 25th of January, 1500. By the time the doctor had risen to high ecclesiastical influence, he had become so fully acquainted with Pace's great merits, that he employed him in difficult missions, and brought him before the king, recommending him for preferment. He became secretary to Henry VIII. in 1515. He was appointed dean of St. Paul's in 1519; of Salisbury, 19th of January, 1529; and prebendary of Combe Hornham in the same church.* He became also distinguished in diplomatic affairs, as will be shown in the following memoir.

* Wood, "Athenæ Oxoniensis," i. 64. Stow, sub anno 1521.

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS WOLSEY, CARDINAL LEGATE.

His Birth and Education—Henry VII.—His Appreciation of Learning—Condition of Oxford—Wolsey appointed Bursar of Magdalen—His Tower—Erasmus—Wolsey Rector of Lymington—Confined in the Stocks—Chaplain to Archbishop Dean and to the Treasurer of Calais—Recommended to Henry VII.—His first Mission—Accession of Henry VIII.—Is appointed his Almoner—His increasing Influence at Court—Honours—Favour with the King—Ferdinand of Arragon and his Schemes—Wolsey a Negotiator—goes to France—Queen Katherine's Letters to him—Is appointed Bishop of Tournay—His Treaties with France—Bribes—Wolsey Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York—Letters from Mary, Queen of France—Is created a Cardinal—Reception of the Scarlet Hat—Hampton Court—His Correspondence—York Place—The Cardinal's Establishment.

STRESS has been laid on the origin of this illustrious man. It has been averred that his father, as some biographers have said of the father of Shakspeare, was a butcher. In neither case is there conclusive authority for the statement. Thomas Wolsey's father was an Ipswich tradesman—luckily for that town. His will* proves only

* This document was discovered by Dr. Fiddes. The testator bequeaths his lands in the parishes of St. Nicholas and Stoke to his widow Joan, and the residue to his widow, his son Thomas, and his executor Thomas Cady. The will contains the following paragraph :—"I will that if Thomas, my son, be a priest within a year next after my decease, then I will that he sing for me and

that he had amassed a fair fortune in business, and there is no doubt that he acquired a fair reputation with it. Thomas seems to have commenced learning at an early age, and pursued his studies with such eagerness, that his progress indicated his fitness for one of the learned professions. The Church was still the great avenue to fame, rank, and fortune, and remained quite as free to adventurers possessed of enterprise and talent as it had ever been. It is well known that he became an Oxford undergraduate at so unusually early a period that he gained the title of "the boy bachelor." He studied hard, seeking knowledge from all the sources there open to him. His advancement was marked by the authorities, who permitted him to be master of the grammar-school in connection with Magdalen College. Here he remained, adding to his solid acquisitions from the past, till he had acquired resources that enabled him to look forward with confidence to the future.

At this period a revival of classical learning, together with a strong impulse towards the higher creations of art, had displayed itself in Italy, and a few years later was fully developed under the auspices of that member of the magnificent Medici who then so ably filled the position of head of the Catholic Church. The scholars of all nations who

my friends by the space of a year, and he to have for his salary ten marks." It is dated September 21, 1486, at which period Thomas Wolsey obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree; but he had not then entered into holy orders; therefore the promised ten marks went to another honest priest, who sang masses for Robert Wolsey's soul, in accordance with his testament.—Fiddes, "Life of Wolsey," 2.

had been welcomed to Rome found apt pupils in several English visitors; and they, on their appearance at their own court, were favourably noticed by Henry VII. This monarch has usually been represented as stern and morose; but he had a keen appreciation for intellectual merit, and contrived to attract around him the cleverest men in his dominions. Such as were profound scholars became professors at the universities; and about the period in which "the boy bachelor" was going through his curriculum, they were making their influence felt at Oxford. To William Grocyn is due the distinction of having been its first professor of Greek, and it became a privilege to attend his classes, of which every true scholar readily availed himself. Latin scholarship was not only equally well cared for, but better sources of study than had hitherto been accessible were thrown open to learners. Wolsey was among the ambitious throng who strove to improve their Latinity by means of such teaching, and he was not the least prosperous of his contemporaries.

The most celebrated pupil of Grocyn was Cuthbert Tonstall, who subsequently studied at Padua, and became one of the most thoroughly learned scholars among his contemporaries—an excellent mathematician, a clever diplomatist, and an admirable prelate. His virtues were as much appreciated as his accomplishments were prized by eminent men of letters at home and abroad, as well as by the most distinguished members of the Church of which he was a special ornament. He was the friend of Erasmus, of Budæus, and of Archbishop Warham;

and his sterling qualities could not have failed of exciting Wolsey's admiration. A little later they were running their careers in the same path of greatness, and gaining ecclesiastical dignities by the influence of similar merit.

Wolsey was appointed bursar of his college in 1498, and during the period he held this office evinced that talent for architectural design which in a subsequent part of his career he displayed on a much grander scale. The tower of the college chapel, since known as "Wolsey's Tower," was built under his superintendence, and every connoisseur has recognized its singular beauty and simplicity. It was an indication of that refined taste in the art he exhibited when boundless resources were at his disposal. But here, as in all his truly great works, prejudice has been permitted to mar his fame, by attributing to him illegal means of obtaining the funds necessary to carry on the building. There is no historical evidence to support the charge.*

The condition of the universities, particularly Oxford, at the close of the reign of Henry VII., showed how mischievous had been the action of the pontifical court on the Anglican Church. Persecution, instead of extinguishing dissent, had spread it widely; public opinion had become more decided than ever against the abuses of the Church; and the papal system required only an impulse to overthrow it in England. The desire for a reformation of ecclesiastical abuses was much stronger than it ever had been. In addition to the preaching of those who

* "Biographia Brit.," vi. 4309, ed. 1766.

had adopted the opinions of the pre-Lutheran reformers, the Printing Press was beginning to put forward its prodigious influence in the same cause. In Oxford the new opinions were constantly coming forward, despite the unanswerable argument of the burning faggot; a representation of which on the garment of a heretic was in 1512 adjudged as a punishment; and though soon followed by the cruel reality on his flesh, the opinions for which he suffered continued to flourish.*

While bursar of Magdalen, Wolsey became acquainted with Erasmus. He was tutor at Paris to Thomas Grey (heir of the marquis of Dorset), whose three younger brothers were placed under Wolsey's charge. These two distinguished scholars entertained the highest opinion of each other's abilities, and Erasmus subsequently showed his appreciation of his English friend by dedicating to him his Latin version of a treatise by Plutarch, on the art of profiting by one's enemies.†

It has been averred that Erasmus and Wolsey conferred together on the best means of introducing a more general study of Greek in England; but on his first visit to England the former had no accurate knowledge of the language. This he subsequently

* Thomas Maune, a Wickliffite, was so treated.

† Published when the bursar was so rapidly rising to ecclesiastical greatness that his friend was obliged to change his address three times. When they met again, Wolsey was in a position to promise him preferment, and procured him a pension of 200 florins. This preferment, being in France, Erasmus did not accept, and the pension, he complained, was irregularly paid. He did not fail, however, to importune his patron for favours, and not securing all he wanted, turned his pen against him.

studied at Paris for three years, with such intensity as, according to his own report, to impair his health; nevertheless, he may have been fully aware of its importance as a branch of education, and have encouraged the authorities at Oxford to establish it in the university as a necessary part of the classical course. Wolsey took great interest in the subject, and corresponded with many foreign scholars, who distinguished themselves in forwarding the revival of classical learning.*

Wolsey went home for the Christmas holidays with his pupils, the sons of the marquis of Dorset, on whom his conduct and appearance made a most favourable impression. The rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire, in his lordship's gift, becoming vacant in the year 1500, it was presented to him, and he quitted the university to reside at his living. Here also he called into operation his architectural taste and knowledge by beautifying the parish church and parsonage. In other respects he seems to have conducted himself much

* That Erasmus was under considerable obligations to Wolsey is evident from a letter addressed by him from Basle, 3rd of February, 1516, where he says he regrets not having had an interview before he quitted England, "when my last refuge and sheet-anchor of my felicity I had fixed in you," and then requests some provision from his eminence's goodness and generosity. After wishing his expected patron good health, he professes to devote himself entirely to him. These professions were eminently insincere. The writer chose to pay court to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he dedicated his edition of the New Testament, well knowing the feelings of hostility with which the primate regarded his spiritual superior, the legate; and he subsequently chose to be particularly sarcastic upon the cardinal, when he thought he could attack him with safety.

like other parish priests, and was eminently social in his habits. On one occasion, in the year 1502, he proceeded to a neighbouring fair, where, sharing in the customary enjoyments with perhaps a few of his parishioners, he indulged in some excess. This caused his being taken into custody and brought before a magistrate, who sentenced him to the ignominious punishment of the stocks.

Whether it was in consequence of the disgrace that had been inflicted on him, or the death of his patron, Lord Dorset, he removed from Lymington, though he did not resign the living till 1505. He now became one of the domestic chaplains of Dr. Dean, archbishop of Canterbury—a clear proof that his escapade was not thought much of by his spiritual superiors. He was greatly esteemed by the primate, and appears to have secured some influence at Rome, for he procured in 1503 a dispensation from Pope Alexander to hold two benefices.

The archbishop died in February of the same year, and on the 24th Wolsey attended his funeral, which took place in Canterbury Cathedral. He had been associated with Richard Gardiner in the charge of the corpse during its carriage by water in a state barge from Lambeth to Faversham, whence it was taken to Canterbury in a funeral-car.

After the primate's demise, Wolsey transferred his services to Sir John Nanfan, the treasurer of Calais, whom he accompanied from England in the capacity of chaplain. The knight was well stricken in years, and glad to profit by the secular as well as the spiritual acquirements of his priest, till the entire administration of the post was conducted by him.

In this employment he evinced such high qualities that the treasurer, on returning to the court, recommended his able chaplain to the favour of Henry VII.

Wolsey now found himself in a sphere where his extraordinary administrative talent was sure of finding employment sooner or later. He presently made another application at Rome, and from Pope Julius, in 1504, obtained another dispensation for an additional preferment, apparently the rectory of Redgrave, Norwich. Lord Herbert of Cherbury states that he became chaplain to the Royal household; at any rate, he was much noticed by the king, whose sagacious mind quickly ascertained, during several conversations he had with him, his remarkable capacity for the conduct of state affairs. Henry was singularly shrewd and cautious; therefore not likely to place confidence in any man, however well recommended, unless he was thoroughly satisfied of his worth.

At his introduction to court, Wolsey was about thirty years of age, handsome, graceful, and refined in manner; but it was his intellectual advantages that gained for him the king's favour. Henry VII. cultivated a taste for literature, nor was he indifferent to lighter amusements. In his privy purse expenses there are many curious evidences of a partiality for both. In the year 1492 there are five entries for the former. Carter and Ashby for writing a book got, severally, seven and fourpence and four and fourpence—for the penmanship, probably. An English book costs thirteen and fourpence; a priest, "Sir Peter," gets thirty-five shillings

for gilding and limning, and a song-writer receives a pound. In the following year there is more liberality; two pounds is given for one book. In 1495, "certain books" cost £11. 3*s.* 4*d.* Quintin Paulet has £47 for books; and a year or two later a French bookseller carries off £56. 4*s.*; while another collection delivered to the friars at Richmond cost the king £46. 10*s.* There are many entries for poets, and almost as many for *fools* and plays, or disguisings. It is clear, therefore, that the court of Henry VII. could not have been so very dull as it has sometimes been represented.

The first mission intrusted to the court chaplain was to the emperor Maximilian, in 1506, when a double alliance was in contemplation—that of Henry with Margaret of Austria, and that of the Archduke Charles with the Princess Mary, the king's daughter. In this he exhibited such singular diligence and sagacity, that he returned to his patron when the latter was under the impression that he had delayed his departure. Moreover, he had supplied from his own sense of its necessity an omission in his instructions Henry had only thought of subsequently. The king, delighted with such evidence of ability, increased his confidence.

Several interesting communications to and from Wolsey and Henry VII., during this his first mission, have been preserved and printed by Mr. James Gairdner;* they are addressed, "To our trusty and well-beloved clerc and chaplain, Maister Thomas Wolsey." They refer to the two marriages then

* "Letters and Papers, illustrating the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.," i. 425—Rolls Publications.

contemplated. The originals are among the Cottonian MSS. The letters of Wolsey to the king are in too fragmentary a state to be quoted.

In 1508 Henry VII. presented him with the deanery of Lincoln. He had contrived to please, as well as the shrewd monarch, some of his ministers scarcely less discriminative; so that when Henry died, in 1509, Fox, bishop of Winchester, who was both secretary of state and privy seal, got Wolsey appointed the young king's almoner. A little later a few preferments came in that helped to swell his income considerably. He became rector of Torrington and canon of Windsor; then was appointed registrar of the order of the Garter.*

Wolsey also gained the favour of the primate of York. Dr. Bainbridge evinced the same inclination to become his patron, little imagining that the court chaplain was to be his successor in his archbishopric, as well as in his dignity of cardinal. In November, 1512, he was collated to the prebend of Bugthorp, in York cathedral, and subsequently preferred to the deanery.

Julius II. sent a letter—"Rome, April 5, 1511"—to Archbishop Warham, with the golden rose, anointed with chrism and odorifero musco aspersam, and blessed by the Pontiff, directing him to present it to

* There is in existence, bearing date 30th January, 1510, a grant of a messuage and garden, called "The Parsonage,"—demised by Emson to John, abbot of Westminster,—to Thomas Wolsey, the king's chaplain and dean of St. Mary's Cathedral, Lincoln; also, between this property and the next, an orchard and twelve gardens, in the same parish of St. Bride's.—"Letters and Papers," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 127—Rolls Publications.

the king at mass, with a ceremony of which a full description is enclosed.*

The progress of Wolsey in the favour of Henry VIII. was a repetition of the advancement of Becket in that of Henry III. Both monarchs were young and fond of recreation, and their favourites gained influence by assisting them to escape the tedious duties of government, and enjoy a varied succession of amusements. Henry was delighted with Wolsey's management, and increased his regard as he found him more diligent in securing him the gratifications he preferred. In this way, as Wolsey's earliest biographer has described, he soon became an authority at court.

"Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him: such was his policy and wit, and so he brought things to pass, that who was now in high favour but Master Almoner? Who had all the suit but Master Almoner? and who ruled all under the king but Master Almoner"? †

There is a letter extant from Wolsey to Fox, bishop of Winchester, 1512, telling him the news from Spain and Italy, including an account of the naval engagement off Brest. It is signed Thomas Wolsey.‡ Another communication of September 30, addressed to Fox, gives the latest news from Rome respecting the critical condition of the Pope, and

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 146.

† Cavendish, "Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography," 3rd edition, i. 473.

‡ Quoted by Dr. Fiddes and calendared in Brewer's "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII.

the probability of his having a successor in Adrian or the Cardinal St. George. He adds several items of home news, including the intimation that the queen is thought to be with child. It concludes, "Windsor, the last day of September, with the rude hand of your true and humble priest, Thomas Wulcy."*

Statecraft by this period had become a science that demanded a comprehensive knowledge of the principal European states, including their means of offence and defence, to enable the student to gain such a practical knowledge of it as might sufficiently serve his sovereign and himself. He who aspired to be a statesman had to acquire the fullest and most reliable information as to the policy of neighbouring nations; and Wolsey, whose aspirations were for higher employment, was called upon to devote himself to the acquisition of such intelligence. He must have found the task neither easy nor pleasant. It soon became apparent that these powers illustrated peculiar principles. Germany, France, Spain, and Rome were each working out the same idea.

"Sufficeth them the good old plan."

Each endeavoured to remove his neighbour's landmark, to enlarge his own possessions; each being desirous to get all he could appropriate, and to retain all he could get. Ferdinand, Maximilian, Louis, and Julius evidently respected no other motive than their individual interests. The first was indefatigable in his exertions to take the lead in

* Quoted by Dr. Fiddes and calendared in Brewer's "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII.

developing this selfish ambition; nor were his competitors far behind. Wolsey had to survey the entire area in which these influences extended, and strive to discover how out of such contending interests he could shape a policy that might best advance the political importance of his country.

Pope Julius had been quite as grand a political schemer as the king of Arragon, while he had entertained schemes of conquest that threw Ferdinand into the shade. He was constantly arranging new leagues and signing fresh treaties. In the winter of 1512 he seems to have been particularly active. He was then intent on destroying the republic of Venice and the duke of Ferrara; while France was to be divided between himself, the king of England, the emperor Maximilian, and the duke of Lorraine. He also intended to join the Emperor in the conquest of the Mahomedan empire.

A knowledge of these negotiations reaching King Ferdinand, he was indignant at the Pontiff's duplicity, and immediately entered into fresh alliances with England, in which a new invasion of France was the principal object; but when nothing seemed in his politic mind but the recovery of Aquitaine, Guienne, and Normandy for his son-in-law, he was devising another scheme for making peace with the king of France at the expense of the king of England; and while he was deluding the English ambassadors with projects of national importance, was engaging the French ambassadors in the discussion of subjects of a totally opposite character.

The English negotiators had an extremely difficult task to accomplish in the face of such obstacles

as the shifting policy of the principal European sovereigns; but their greatest trouble arose from the intrigues of the king of Arragon and the blunders of the Pope; fortunately, the latter evil ended in the month of February, 1513, by the death of Julius. Nevertheless, a new pope seems to have given a fresh impetus to the designs of Ferdinand, whose aim now was to coerce his son-in-law into aiding him in his arrangements with France.

He appeared anxious to get the co-operation of the Emperor and the king of England in effecting a reformation of the Church, of which he acknowledged it stood in great need. But while he was striving to bring his son-in-law to further his views, the English negotiators had been active in arranging with the Emperor for a combined invasion of France, that was to effect much greater results than he had previously promised. The politic king of Arragon now found himself in a position out of which he could only escape by entering into a similar treaty with England, which Luis Caroz signed on the 18th of April, 1513. This, as he complained, he had been obliged to do by the violence of King Henry. Wolsey, there is little doubt, directed the whole of this political *tour de force*, and with the same energy proceeded to open a campaign against France in accordance with the imperial treaty.

There was no want of ardour in our navy in 1513. One of the captains writing to Wolsey, 24th April, assures him that his crew was so deficient that he had to supply and clothe seventy-four men at his own cost. He was impatient of delay. "Syn here we ly nott very myre (merry) seyng our tyme

spead so fast, and can have no wethur to bryng us forthe off the Teamse." The note is addressed "To the right worshipful and his singular good Master Awnmer to the King's Grace."*

As Henry VIII.'s almoner, Wolsey went to France in June, to join in a campaign against the French, and marched with the rear-ward of the English army, on its way to Terouenne, the siege of which was interrupted by the arrival of the emperor Maximilian on a visit to the king of England. He now had not only opportunities of seeing war on a grand scale, but of becoming acquainted with the greatest performers in the pageant. He does not appear to have distinguished himself in the field. There was hardly enough fighting even to satisfy an ecclesiastic; but in the ceremonials which marked the subsequent negotiations, he attracted the notice of the Emperor and the king of France. Their favour was thrown into the shade by the rewards he obtained from his own sovereign. Henry was extremely gratified by the manner in which he conducted every business he placed in his hands, and his confidence grew with his liberality.

The old nobility had begun to notice the rising favourite. On the 20th of May, John, earl of Arundel, wrote to thank him for his kindness at all times, and sent a present of venison. The note is addressed "To my very good and entirely well-beloved friend Master Almoner."

Communications to him increased rapidly, and substantial remembrances appear to have increased

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 544.

with them. Hugh Vaughan sends him a parcel of Normandy cloth "to make chitts [sheets] for your servants," and addresses him,—30th April, "To the Right Honourable Master Doctor Wolsey, the King's Almoner." William Sabine, captain of a vessel that bore his own name, on the same day describes the position of the French force by sea and land, and the proceedings of the English admiral on the coast of Brittany.* The interest Wolsey took in naval affairs may be seen in the notes he wrote on the wages and clothing required for masters, men, and boys.†

On the 5th of May Edward Echinghan sends him a report of the engagements of the English navy on the French coast. The English seamen appear to have been badly victualled; for ten days they had had but one meal a day.‡ On the 7th the Lord Admiral (Howard) forwards an account of his proceedings.§ On that day Sir Gilbert Talbot addresses Wolsey from Calais, informing him that over anxiety to serve the king had thrown him on a bed of sickness for fifteen days; but that his son will go with the hundred men required for the king's service.

On the 10th a more important letter was written to him by Silvester de Giglis, bishop of Worcester, from Rome, acknowledging a communication from him dated the 13th ult., and stating that he presented the king's letter to the Pope. He then says that the exemption of the six chaplains is a difficult matter to arrange; that the Pontiff is willing to

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 549.

† Idem, 555. ‡ Idem, 558-9. § Idem, 562.

remit his own fees; but that the customary expenses must be paid for a bull *sub plumbo*. It appears from a subsequent note, addressed by the same writer to Katherine of Arragon, that the expenses were to be fifty ducats. He adds that he has spoken with the datary about Wolsey's wish for a dispensation to hold three benefices, valued at £2,000, or at least as many marks, even though more than three parish churches were attached; but that the request is denied as unusual, though he has pressed it. In conclusion he announces that Cardinal Bainbridge is ill.*

Letters now poured in upon him; the bishop of Winchester, on the 11th of May, 1513, acknowledges Wolsey's rapidly increasing influence by addressing him as "My brother, the king's almoner," and concludes a note, exclusively on naval matters, "from Portsmouth, with the shaking hand of your loving brother." Sir Gilbert Talbot on the following day, from Calais, announces that he will have a tun of wine ready for him at the place appointed; but that he cannot find any black clothes fit for his wear, though he has sent to Bruges and St. Omers to see if there be any fine and good.† In a subsequent note he says that the wine is ready, and that he has forwarded the cloth.

About the same date came letters from Fox, Dawtrey, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Richard Wingfield, the first three on naval affairs, the last as marshal of Calais referring to his desire to wait upon the king with the horsemen of the town,

* "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," Henry VIII. (Brewer), i. 567.

† Ibid., 569.

and to guard the treasures to be conveyed to the Emperor. He adds that Spinelly is gratified that Wolsey has commended his services.*

Queen Katherine wrote, 26th July, 1513, to Wolsey, addressing him as "Master Almoner," and requesting intelligence of the king, thanking him for his good offices on behalf of one of her female attendants who had married, and urging his causing her to be sent back to Spain instead of entering the service of the duchess of Savoy. She is described as "a perilous woman;" but it is probable that her royal mistress feared she might tell tales; for the queen tells her correspondent, that if he will do her this favour, "ye shall bind me to you more than ever I was." The queen wrote again to him on August 13th and 25th in the same confidential manner, and subsequently after the battle of Flodden.†

There is another letter from Queen Katherine to Wolsey, dated Richmond, 25th of August, rejoicing at the intelligence he had sent her, and praising the Emperor, to whom she expresses a wish to be remembered. The queen adds, "Almighty God helps here our part as well as there," and expresses her opinion that such signal favour is owing to the king's piety.‡

It was followed by another on the 2nd of September, acknowledging the receipt of his announcement that the duc de Longueville was to become a member of her household, upon whom she says there is no one fit to wait but Lord Mountjoy, who

* "Letters and Papers," i. 577.

† Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i. 80.

‡ "Letters and Papers," i. 660.

had gone to Calais; she advises that the French duke should be sent to the Tower. After entreating her correspondent to forward news as frequently as he can, she prays God to send her as good luck against the Scots as the king has had against the French.*

Wolsey on the 30th of May, 1513, was obliged to call the Lord Admiral to account for the mischances that had prevented the sufficient victualling of the fleet. Lord Howard replied on the 5th of June, acknowledging that he has found him so kind he can do no less than write to him from time to time, "as never poor gentleman was in greater fear to take rebuke than he." On the following day the king's almoner forwards some instructions, "written at my poor house at Bridewell."†

Several letters were written in 1513 by the bishop of Durham to Wolsey. In more than one this prelate seems to take to heart the loss of Norham Castle, that had been stormed by the Scots and razed to the ground; in others he rejoices over the victory at Flodden.‡ In a subsequent communication he acknowledges that the state of the castle is not so bad as he had described, and intends to rebuild it, living economically during its restoration. He adds that in the interval "I purpose not to keep any great sail, but get me to a corner and live upon you—emendis suffragiis—as my lord of York did when he was bishop here. For the love of God, Master Almoner, remember this matter, and keep it secret—using policy."

The wealthiest of Anglican ecclesiastics at the con-

* "Letters and Papers," i. 665.
† Ibid., 594. ‡ Ibid., 672-5.

clusion of his letter is equally characteristic. He says that he had brought with him eight tuns of wine, and our Lord be thanked had not two left—fair utterance, he thinks in two months. "And shame it is," he adds, "to say how many beefs and muttons have been spent in my house since my coming, besides other fresh acates—wheat, malt, fish, and such baggages. On my faith ye would marvel." He ventures to state that entertaining three hundred persons a day, with sixty or eighty beggars at the gate, is a small number. "And this," he concludes, ".is the way to keep a poor man in state."*

This hospitality was a distinctive feature in the daily life of English prelates, distinguished by their wealth; but the princely bishop of Durham could not have anticipated that his "worshipful" correspondent would in a brief season far excel him in magnificence.

While in France the king's almoner found means of studying men as profoundly as he had studied books. There was only enough of the aspect of war in the campaign to afford him a new and rather attractive view of life. "The Battle of Spurs," a skirmish in which the French chivalry anticipated Butler's familiar couplet, appears to have been its principal incident; but after the fighting was over, he contrived to make himself acquainted with Frenchmen of mark; such as the duc de Longueville, the Chevalier Bayard, and Bussy d'Amboise. A more fortunate acquaintance was one he formed with the count d'Angoulême, on whom he made a favourable impression.

* "Letters and Papers," i. 688.

The campaign ended with the capture of Tournay, of which Wolsey was at once appointed bishop. This was on the 22nd of September. He shared in the rejoicings that followed; but had scarcely time during the pageants and other amusements, with which his royal master entertained his companions in arms and his new subjects, to ascertain the value of his preferment. Nevertheless he learnt lessons of equal importance, which he presently applied to profitable use, particularly such as related to European politics, and the policy of the Church of Rome. He was now a prelate, and naturally looked anxiously in the direction of the papal court. With no less interest was he regarded there, for his rapid rise, and the influence he was supposed to possess with the king of England, had made him an object of peculiar regard to Pope and cardinals.

After Henry VIII.'s return to England on October the 24th, Wolsey found a favourable field for negotiation opened to him both in France and Rome, of the advantages of which he was not slow to avail himself.

Among the persons of distinction who endeavoured to profit by Wolsey's advancement, was Thomas, Lord Darcy. Writing on the 15th of January, 1514, after certain requests, he says:— "Sir, when I went in my chief room and office within the court, ye and I were bedfellows, and each of us brake our minds to other in all our affairs, and every of us was determined and promised to do other pleasure if it should lie in either of us at any time. Sir, loving to God now it lieth in your power to help and advance such of your

friends as ye favour." After this reminder, he ventures to ask for the office of marshal, and a discharge of a debt of £266. 13s. 4d., as he is about to shift his poor plate, as his purse was never so weak. He concludes, "Sir, every man will now seek to be your friend, and to be in favour with you; but yet in no wise forget not to cherish such as were your lovers and friends, and desired and was content with your favour and company, for your own sake only, when they reckoned nothing to have you to do for them."*

The first indication of Leo X.'s hostility to Wolsey appeared in a letter addressed by the Pontiff to the king, in which he refuses the royal request that Thomas, the king's almoner, shall be consecrated bishop of Lincoln, with a remission of part of the fees, on the plea that it has been rejected by the College of Cardinals as detrimental to the Holy See. It is dated Rome, 7th February, 1514.† Cardinal Julius, writing to the king on the following day, avers that he is rejoiced to hear of Wolsey's advancement, and would have mentioned it to the College of Cardinals had this not been the duty of the cardinal of York (Bainbridge).‡ A more illustrative document emanated from the bishop of Worcester on the 11th, who, after congratulating Wolsey on his bishopric, states the result of an application to the consistory to reduce the annates payable by the new prelate. They would not listen to it, as they were aware that the appointment was a lucrative one, and had always paid the customary tax.

* "Letters and Papers," i. 720. † Ibid., 734. ‡ Ibid., 737.

The Pope, whose portion amounted to 1,700 ducats, desires it, as he has nothing except these annates for his support, and is considerably in debt for his coronation, and other expenses; he promises, however, to make it up to Wolsey, to whom he professes to be under obligation for the order of the Garter, and will forego the annates for the deanery of St. Stephen's. He presently goes on to state that he has expedited the required bulls, the cost of which will amount to something over 6,821 ducats. For reducing the charge so low, he says he has made the officials very angry. He acknowledges having already received and nearly expended 7,000 ducats, doubtless sent to expedite the bishop's appointment. He concludes by begging a small benefice of ten marks a year for one of his servants.*

By a subsequent letter (April 4), we find that the new bishop was dissatisfied with this lavish expenditure, which was a thousand ducats more than was customary. The Italian swears that he has spent fifty ducats out of his own purse. This may have been true, and yet they may have formed part of the overcharge complained of.

The first intimation of the bishop of Lincoln's desire for distinction at Rome is to be found in a letter from Polydore Vergil, addressed to him on the 21st of May, 1514, in which he states that he has intimated to the cardinal of Bath (Adrian) this business of the cardinalate, and will speak more plain

* "Letters and Papers," i. 739. The grant of the canonry and prebendary of St. George's, Windsor, is dated 4th of the following March.—Ibid., 761.

hereafter; he had requested his good offices, and avers that the Pope thought it expedient that he should be a cardinal, if he had great influence with the king. Bath is to write on the subject, but not a word is to transpire.*

The vice-chancellor of Oxford wrote in the name of the university, offering him the chancellorship on the 24th, which the bishop accepted on the 2nd of June.†

A higher elevation in the Church now opened to him by the unexpected death of Cardinal Bainbridge, and Henry at once conferred on him the archbishopric of York.

On the 12th of August, 1514, the king wrote to the Pope requesting that the bishop of Lincoln might be created a cardinal, with all the honours held by the late archbishop of York, averring that Wolsey's merits are such that the king esteems him above his dearest friends, and can do nothing of the least importance without him.‡

The Pope again exhibits reluctance. On the 24th of September he assures the king that the honour he requires for Wolsey is surrounded by difficulties. He says that it is much desired, and admits the possessor at once to the highest rank. He intimates that he will comply with the king's wishes at a more convenient time.§

The bishop of Worcester appears to have been an active agent for Wolsey, to whom he wrote assurances that he was urgent in endeavouring to forward this promotion. His letter elicited a

* "Letters and Papers," i. 810.
† Ibid., 815.
‡ Ibid., 856.
§ Ibid., 888.

reply from the archbishop, begging that his thanks may be transmitted to his Holiness for a promise of being included in the next creation. He assures his correspondent: "And if by your politic handling, the Pope can be induced shortly to make me a cardinal, ye shall singularly content and please the king; for I cannot express how desirous the king is to have me advanced to the said honour, to the intent that not only men might thereby perceive how much the Pope favoureth the king and such as he entirely loveth, but also that thereby I shall be the more able to do his Grace service."

The remainder of this communication shows most clearly that the writer intends to support the Italian bishop against his accusers, one of whom is styled "a most malicious conspirator."* Other letters are interchanged on the same subject. The king was satisfied of the bishop's innocence, and so apparently was the Pontiff.

The game Wolsey had to direct was surrounded with difficulties through the uncertain disposition of England's allies and the doubtful policy of the new pope, Leo X. The Emperor and the king of Arragon were never to be relied on, if the smallest gleam of advantage was apparent to them by the abandonment of their engagements. The skilful negotiator therefore had not only to prepare for the due performance of their several treaties, but for such deviations as any slight event might bring about. There were new negotiations to be entered into, and new contingencies to be anticipated; but it was impossible for a mind so full of resources

* "Letters and Papers," i. 892-3.

to imagine the inexhaustible changes of King Ferdinand. He was presently again intriguing with the king of France and the Emperor, at the expense of England.

Leo had been won over to assist King Ferdinand, and now the only difficulty was the acquiescence of King Henry, to gain which an extraordinary embassy was sent to England. Incessant was the action of the Spaniard to overreach his son-in-law and place him in the background; but Wolsey again made a move that threw his game into hopeless confusion. He was secretly arranging two treaties with France,—one being for the marriage of the Princess Mary with King Louis, the other a treaty of alliance between the two countries. Ferdinand was not quite checkmated, but he found that his favourite idea of England's subserviency must be completely abandoned.

There were two great powers in Europe at this period that appear to have been eager for universal dominion—Germany and France; and Wolsey saw that, should they become antagonistic, the policy of his country must be one of neutrality if possible, or of alliance with the one that could promise the greater advantage to England. The Emperor tried further to engage the Pope by offering to dispose of Martin Luther. Leo was at the time carrying on secret negotiations with France, and seems to have tried to deceive the imperial ambassador. Threats of invasion were now employed, and these being followed by a large bribe,—about eighteen thousand ducats a year, Leo gave in.

The Emperor hoped, with the assistance of the

court of Rome, to gain England; but Wolsey was not so easily managed. He knew the value of his position, and strove to make the most of it.

The connection of England with France at this period was strengthened by a considerable pension paid to Henry VIII. Wolsey received one of about 14,800 livres Tournois; the bishop of Winchester had a portion of 7,800 livres distributed amongst the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earls of Worcester and Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Lovel, and a few other influential persons. But Louis was extremely liberal, for he well knew the value of the English alliance. He had recently presented Wolsey with an additional 50,000 livres, and had promised to secure him the tiara on the death of Leo.

The imperial overtures were therefore received coldly; indeed Wolsey strove to draw closer the English alliance with France. He too endeavoured more earnestly to cultivate the good opinion of his own sovereign, of whose foreign policy he had now the entire direction. It has been stated that he gained his extraordinary influence over the king by flattering his vanity; but Henry was not a man to be easily duped. His mind was very far from being of that feeble character that readily surrenders itself to the arts of sycophants. Wolsey's position in the king's councils he owed to the legitimate exercise of his pre-eminent talents. Doubtless a large element of the courtier mingled in the composition of the churchman; but he never could have attained the post of chief counsellor to Henry VIII. at this period of his life without having established a con-

viction that he was the fittest man in the kingdom to have the guidance of state affairs.

The year 1514 became as full of employment as of distinction for the bishop of Lincoln. Among the other important negotiations entrusted to his management was that which resulted in the marriage of Louis XII. with the king's sister, the Princess Mary. During the progress of this treaty Wolsey found the impression he had already made at the courts of Rome and Paris of the greatest service to him. Leo X. had contrived to find time, in the midst of his arduous exertions for the advancement of art and literature, through Cardinal Bainbridge, to open a negotiation with England for an alliance between Henry and the king of France, who by timely concessions had reconciled himself to that pontiff. It was well known that Wolsey would have special influence in this arrangement, and his interests therefore were to be specially cared for. One of the articles of agreement was that Tournay was to be surrendered; but Wolsey became aware that not only would he be permitted to retain the bishopric, but that Henry would reserve his conquest. With this understanding, and while confident that in forwarding the much-desired treaty, he was greatly advancing his own interests at the pontifical court, he contrived to remove obstacle after obstacle, till the treaty was signed at London on the 2nd day of August, 1514.

With his new honours, and the new duties they brought with them, Wolsey was occupied when letters reached him from the king of France urging him to expedite his marriage; but the princess

did not leave England till the 2nd of October, when she sailed from Dover accompanied by a magnificent retinue. A little time after her arrival in France her attendants were sent home, with one or two exceptions, much to the regret of the bride, who however was not perfectly satisfied with some of them. In a letter to the king she says, "Would to God my lord of York had come with me in the room of Norfolk, for then I should have been left much more at my heartiness and contentment."

The queen of France wrote to Wolsey again on the death of her husband, thanking him for his kind and loving letter, and acknowledging that she has no one now in whom she can put her trust but the king and himself. He had advised her not to accept any proposals of marriage, to which she replied, that she trusted neither her brother nor himself considered her so childish. She concludes by assuring him, "If there be anything that I may do for you, I would be glad for to do it, in these parts." Nevertheless, she married her former lover, secretly at Paris, then openly at Calais; and Wolsey had to use all his influence with Henry to reconcile him to the happy pair.

The story of the Princess Mary's troubles subsequently to her first marriage would occupy too much space to relate here; but the proceedings of the king's almoner to effect their removal are too creditable to him to be entirely passed over. After the death of Louis, she was so importuned by his successor on the French throne, that in sheer desperation she confided to him the engagement she had entered into with her brother's favourite, Lord

Lisle—Brandon, earl of Suffolk. He having been sent on an embassy to Francis I. by Henry, with the connivance of the former, was now secretly married to her. They made urgent appeals to Wolsey to stand their friend, and at no slight risk to his own rising fortunes, he pacified the anger of the king. Henry appears all along to have been more solicitous to recover his sister's property than her person, avarice being even then his ruling passion. Of this his able minister took advantage to reconcile him to the union of the lovers. "I assure you," he wrote to the bridegroom, "the hope that the king hath to obtain the said plate and jewels is the thing that most stayeth his Grace constantly to assent that ye should marry his sister; the lack whereof I fear me might make him cold and remiss and cause some alteration, whereof all men here, except his Grace and myself, would be right glad." His secret exertions in their behalf were crowned with success, though at first, as Wolsey states in another letter to the duke, Henry was greatly exasperated. The French plundered the widow of their late sovereign; the English king, her brother, was forced to be content with extorting her plate and jewels and £24,000. Suffolk, at a later period, chose to forget the important service Wolsey rendered him on this occasion; but it is clear from his antecedents that he was at best but a brilliant adventurer.*

The king's desire for the cardinalate for his confidential minister is further expressed in a note addressed to Leo (July, 1515), when he begs the Pontiff to regard what Wolsey may say with as much

* "Letters and Papers," ii., Introduction, xxiii.

respect as if it proceeded from himself. He returns huge thanks for what has been done; expresses extreme anxiety for the dignity—indeed, looks forward with burning desire to that day on which he shall behold Wolsey's advancement for his genius, learning, and many admirable qualities; and ends by imploring the Pope to forward the matter to the utmost.*

The bishop of Worcester wrote (1515) to Wolsey respecting his title of cardinal, recommending St. Cecilia as lucky, it having been a stepping-stone to the papal chair. The Pontiff seemed reluctant. Francis, instead of forwarding the promotion, was for advancing his own creatures. Maximilian was pursuing the same course. Adrian and Vergil were in the imperial interest, and opposed it. The bishop of Worcester, desirous of gaining the substantial support of Wolsey and the king of England, to escape the odium which was being directed against him for his complicity in the death of Bainbridge, was unremitting in his endeavours to win over the Pope and cardinals to the appointment. "The King's Grace marvelleth," writes Wolsey to his friend at Rome, "that the Pope delayeth so long the sending of the red hat to me, seeing how tenderly, instantly, and often his Grace hath written his Holiness for the same."†

Wolsey sometimes betrays a little impatience, and mingles a covert threat with his irritation. He insists that the king has always been a friend to the Pontiff, and that his alliance ought not to be lightly thrown away; and assures his correspondent that

* "Letters and Papers," ii. 1527. † Ibid.

his majesty will be greatly displeased if his desires are not regarded, as he is a better friend to the Church than all other princes.*

We believe that Leo's reluctance to elevate Wolsey was feigned, to enable him to make better terms for the advancement of his own interests. When Henry had agreed to enter the papal league, there was no longer the slightest reluctance. Wolsey was to be created cardinal sole; and the Pope was so bent upon his elevation, that he would secure it within eight days, in opposition to all the cardinals. The bishop of Worcester took care that the Sacred College should not throw obstacles in the way. He had been entrusted with those solid English reasons which had always proved irresistible to the Roman mind, and he did not spare them.

No sooner had the new king of France, Francis I., felt himself secure on the throne, than he showed an utter disregard of the treaty lately concluded with England, by inducing the Pope, with whom he had established a confidential intercourse, to sanction by a bull the appointment of a French divine who had been elected bishop of Tournay by the chapter. This act afforded strong evidence of the instability of the archbishop's relations with the courts of Rome and Paris, and it became necessary to show to both his ability to resent the affront they had conjointly put upon him. Henry was readily roused into resentment. Presently indications of English hostility became so manifest that Francis, to divert the threatened storm, made such urgent representations to Leo of the necessity of satisfying the archbishop

* "Letters and Papers," ii. 174.

by his accession to a dignity to which it was well known he aspired, that the Pope lost no time in nominating him a member of the Sacred College, by the title of Cardinal St. Cecilia beyond the Tiber. This was in September, 1515.

Mr. Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X., has entered into some detail respecting the manner in which Wolsey obtained this dignity. He had not been idle since he had aspired to it; in addition to the bishop of Worcester, he had employed one of the cardinals as his agent at Rome, of course with a proper retainer. This was Adrian, who, however, secretly acted in direct opposition to his instructions. It was the discovery of Adrian's perfidy that caused Wolsey to intercept the correspondence of Polydore Vergil, with the result already stated. This act was not likely to improve his relations with the papal court, and sharp remonstrances were made to Henry; but without avail.

The cardinal became as omnipotent at the council as he was everywhere else. The duke of Norfolk could not submit to this; he attempted opposition, and failed to conceal the ill temper which his want of success created. With the inferior members he had occasional disputes. Thomas Allen, the chaplain and "intelligencer" of the earl of Shrewsbury, writes: "Here is a great snarling in the Privy Council, insomuch that my lord cardinal said to Sir Henry Marney, that the same Sir Henry had done more displeasure unto the King's Grace, by reason of his cruelty against the great estates of the realm, than any man living."* All had to succumb to superior influence;

* "Letters and Papers," ii.

this was so unpalatable that Archbishop Warham, lord chancellor, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, privy seal, withdrew, as well as the duke of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Lovell—some only for a time.

Even at this early period there was a conspiracy formed to overthrow him. Norfolk was jealous; Warham still more so;* and Suffolk ungrateful. At the Pope's request, the bishop of Worcester wrote to Wolsey to warn him of his danger. In his reply, the cardinal, after thanking him for the information, assures him that the country was never in greater amity or repose—"Tanti enim justitiam et æquitatem facio, absit jactantis crimen; and were I to offer to resign, I am sure neither the king nor his nobles would permit it."†

The king would not; and after his appointment to the chancellorship (22nd December, 1515), and the popularity he acquired in that office, many of the nobility would not consent to his removal; but there were several discontented spirits amongst them who would have taken immediate advantage of the slightest mistake he might commit.

The cardinal was not only watched at home by eyes eager to spy something which might be turned to his disadvantage, but his proceedings abroad were regarded by unscrupulous spies in the interest

* Nevertheless the primate, in a letter to Wolsey, shortly afterwards, cordially testified to the worthiness of his successor, acknowledging that he had perceived "better, straighter, and speedier ways of justice, and more diligence and labour for the king's right, duties, and profits, to be in you than ever I see in times past in any other."

† "Letters and Papers," ii.

of his enemies. Polydore Vergil was detected in carrying on a correspondence in which the cardinal was maligned as "hateful to heaven and earth." He presently found himself in the Tower; when his correspondence at once affected extreme respect and regard. He promised, were he allowed the privilege of seeing Wolsey, that he would gaze and bow in adoration, and his spirit rejoice "as in God my Saviour." At the intercession of the Pontiff he was liberated, when, as soon as he found himself out of the cardinal's reach, he sat down to exhaust his genius in slander.

The quiet manner with which Francis had started to open the Italian campaign had offended both the king of England and his minister; both regarded it as a neglect, and were inclined to suspect as well as to complain. "The king of France," said the latter to Sebastian, the envoy of Spain, "to ask aid of England? he omits to make us the least communication of his intentions, showing in how small account he holds his Majesty. Think, sir ambassador, whether this is to be borne, and say if these are the fashions of confederates." Francis crossed the Alps when such a movement was not expected; the Swiss, under the cardinal of Sion, advanced from Milan to give his army a meeting; but the Venetians having joined the invaders, the forces of the cardinal were completely defeated. Wolsey heard the news of the victory of Marignano with incredulity. The agent sent by Francis to communicate the glad tidings thus records his reception:—

"I left him [Henry VIII.], and accompanied with the herald, went to my lord the cardinal of York,

being at Westminster, whom likewise I informed of the good news of the king and his prosperity. He told me he rejoiced at it; and that he esteemed the victory of the king and his success as much as if they had been the king's his master, by reason of the alliance and friendship between them. He thanked the king and you [Louisa of Savoy, whom the writer is addressing] for making him participator in the news, and said he was pleased to hear it above all things in the world. Then I gave him to understand the contents of your cipher, and told him that if he and the king of England thought that the king my master, at his departure into Italy, had not left his kingdom strong and powerful, and chiefly the towns on the frontier, they had been greatly deceived; although the king had never thought that the king of England would attempt to invade his country, and make war upon him in his absence, considering the treaty of peace and amity existing between them. On this he laid his hand on his breast, and swore to me that the king his master had never thought of such a thing, nor his council; and as for the ships which he had prepared during this time, and chiefly his great galley [a new ship called the *Virgin Mary*], that was done solely to give pleasure and pastime to the queen and the queen Mary, his sister, and that it was true that on Thursday last the king, the said queens, and all the council had dined on board, and made the greatest cheer and triumph that could be devised."

The envoy presently states his opinion that, notwithstanding the cardinal's professions, if his master had been unsuccessful, France would have been in-

vaded by England.* In a subsequent interview, the cardinal is reported to have stated the opinion of the king of England and his council that the communications of the king of France had been "harsh and unpleasant." The envoy defended his master, and complained that the king of England had written in still ruder terms. Further on in his communication to the queen-mother, he writes:—

"Madam,—I was afterwards alone with the cardinal of York, who charged me to write to the king and yourself, that there is no prince in this world that the king of England loves better or holds more dear than he does the king of France. He swore and affirmed this to me, with his hand on his breast. He said they were both young, and there was the greatest similarity between them in nobility, magnanimity, and virtue; wherefore they ought the more to love one another: and he humbly prayed the king and you to treat the king his master well, stating that the king of England for his part would do more than he was bound to do."†

The cardinal unquestionably in this interview allowed the diplomatist more prominence than the priest; but the condition of affairs in Italy, consequent on the success of the king of France, filled him with anxiety. The immediate presence on the spot of a clear-sighted observer and an able negotiator became imperative, and he looked around him for the man he wanted. He remembered Pace, who had been illiberally treated when he was anxious to secure the services of the influential and unscrupulous bishop of Worcester, and by way of amends

* "Letters and Papers," ii. † Ibid.

sent him on a secret mission of extraordinary importance. Milan was now in the hands of the French, and the complication was hourly becoming more difficult of management.

In November, 1515, a papal envoy arrived in England bearing the red hat of the new English cardinal. Wolsey, who had prided himself on his stately appearance in public, learnt that the messenger was not sufficiently distinguished in his dress to impress the spectators with the grandeur of his mission. He was directed to stop, and only when arrayed becomingly, was permitted to proceed. In the mean time preparations were made to receive the bearer of this welcome dignity in a suitable manner; and the archbishop of Canterbury, attended by his suffragans, and several of the nobility attired with studied magnificence, met him at Blackheath. A noble procession was formed, and the entire cavalcade moved on to London. To do honour to the occasion, all the civic dignitaries and all the city companies made the grandest display of which they were capable. Through the streets, crowded with citizens—pavements, windows, and house-tops equally thronged—was carried the emblem of the newly appointed Prince of the Church. On it was borne triumphantly through the City, and along the Strand, and by the house of the favoured individual by whom it was to be worn, beyond Charing, till the procession halted at the door of Westminster Abbey, where eight abbots stood in waiting to receive it. They having conducted it with due solemnity to the high altar, there it was laid, as the most fitting place for so sacred an object. Then the great pro-

cession broke up and dispersed—the lords spiritual and temporal, the lord mayor and the aldermen, and the thousands of gratified citizens—to their homes.

The following Sunday, the 8th of November, was a grand day for Westminster and for Wolsey. All the rank and wealth in the capital thronged into the abbey to do honour to the king's favourite. The spectacle had been carefully prepared, and ecclesiastics and laymen rivalled each other in the assistance they gave to the display. The only portion of the magnificent ceremonial worthy of record commenced with the new cardinal kneeling at the altar, his hood drawn over his face; in which attitude he remained while prayers were said and the benediction given by the officiating prelates. Lastly, the red hat was reverently taken off the altar by the archbishop of Canterbury, and placed on the head of his brother primate; after which a splendid procession was formed, the most conspicuous object of which was the cardinal archbishop in his gorgeous hat, purple robes, and scarlet stockings; and they proceeded to York Place, his archiepiscopal London mansion, where a banquet on a scale apparently unrivalled awaited the guests. As these included Henry VIII., Katherine of Arragon, the queen-dowager of Scotland, and the recently remarried queen-dowager of France, with the aristocracy of the country, it called for unusual expense. The occasion, too, warranted it, at least in the eyes of the personage who would have to make the outlay. He desired to impress upon certain of the old nobility, who had regarded his elevation

with ill-concealed scorn, how much his greatness soared above theirs. The entertainment he had provided proved so sumptuous that the proudest of the doubtful friends who partook of the cardinal's hospitality were content to conceal their envy or contempt of "the upstart."

The stately reception of the cardinal's hat was long afterwards quoted against him by the prejudiced, though zealous, reformers. One states that "a ruffian" having brought it under his cloak to the archbishop, then at Westminster, he had the man clothed in rich array, and sent him back to Dover, appointing the primate to meet him there; "and then another company of lords and gentles, I wot not how oft ere it came to Westminster, where it was set on a cupboard and tapers about, so that the greatest duke in the land must make curtesie thereto—yea, and to his empty seat; he being away."*

This is an exaggerated version of the statement of Cavendish, who was no doubt an eye-witness of the imposing spectacle he described. The ceremony "was done in so solemn a wise," adds the enthusiastic gentleman usher, "as I have not seen the like, unless it had been at the coronation of a mighty prince and king."

The reception of the cardinal's hat made an unusual impression on the public mind: nevertheless it was scoffed at as a childish pageant by professors of the new opinions.†

* "Tindal's Works," 374.

† There is a tavern called "The Cardinal's Hat," mentioned by Stow, "Survey of London."

The increased influence of France excited the jealousy of the principal English diplomatists in the autumn of 1515, and they urged the cardinal to employ a large auxiliary force of Swiss to assist the Emperor in attacking France. Pace was sent to Cardinal Sion at Innspruck. The mercenaries were willing; they, however, proved themselves so worthy of the name, that Wolsey found it difficult, indeed impossible, to satisfy their demands. Maximilian learning that English gold was flowing near him in a liberal stream, made Sir Robert Wingfield, the English ambassador, a man much too honest for his vocation, aware that he desired to divert the current to himself. The cardinal, however, had looked into him and through him, and would not put such a temptation in his way; nevertheless Wingfield allowed himself to be beguiled into engaging 10,000 lance knights and 1,000 horse. This brought on him a reprimand for exceeding his instructions, which appears to have created in the mind of the venerable ambassador, then familiarly known as "Summer shall be green," no small degree of irritation.

Pace proved exactly the man the cardinal wanted. He cared not for imperial blandishments; he was indifferent to the wise saws and modern instances of his unsuspicious chief; in short, carried out his patron's instructions with as much tact as fidelity. Wolsey was as secret as the necessity of the case demanded, and his agent was equally so; but large shipments of money could not be made without exciting suspicion. The Spanish envoy was lynx-eyed, and more than once intimated to the cardinal his suspicions of their

destination; the diplomatist, however, could always put the churchman aside. He replied to Giustinian, "I will speak to you with all sincerity, and truth, as it becomes a cardinal, on the honour of the cardinalate," laying his hand upon his breast. "It is true that this most serene king has remitted money to Flanders, which will reach Germany and perhaps Italy, for two purposes: the first is for the purchase of inlaid armour; the other for a quantity of very fine jewels pledged by certain princes in France, Germany, and Italy. Although the money may reach our ambassadors, it will not come into the power of the Emperor [this was true]; for you need not think that the king would expend his treasure to aid the Emperor in the recovery of Brescia and Verona. No man in this kingdom has so much as thought of such a thing, or of waging war on the king of France, or of opposing any of his undertakings. By the honour of the cardinalate, what we tell you is the truth, and they who asserted otherwise lied in their teeth."*

The march of the Swiss and Germans towards Milan, and the irresolution and final withdrawal of Maximilian, are admirably described by Pace, in his despatches to the cardinal. The Swiss grew discontented and imprisoned Pace; but a supply of money arriving, he paid their wages for three months, and was suffered to go at large. His letters were intercepted by the Emperor; the mercenaries became disorderly, and again confined the English agent, and Maximilian bullied and endeavoured to extort money from him by threats, and Sir Robert

* "Letters and Papers," ii.

Wingfield broke open his private letters, and in other ways conducted himself with as little discretion as sense. He even ventured to send home a proposal from the Emperor to invest his master with the duchy of Milan, with a reversion of the empire, neither of which was at Maximilian's disposal.

It is scarcely possible to overrate the dexterity with which Wolsey at this crisis played with emperor, king, and pope; with Margaret of Savoy, with Swiss, with Romans,—in short, with every one. It was quite in vain that Maximilian alternately wheedled and threatened; Pace was as honest as he was sagacious, and his patron was inflexible. As long as Pace resisted imperial artifices, Wolsey knew that he was master of the situation. He did resist, the minister's policy was triumphant, and on his agent's return home he rewarded his invaluable services with the important post of secretary to the king, to the intense disgust of that estimable, well-meaning, incompetent, blunderhead, Sir Robert Wingfield.

In this year Wolsey began building a noble structure on the Middlesex side of the Thames, near the village of Hampton. In a few years it assumed the dimensions of a palace of the noblest proportions. So prodigious was this building, and so elaborately was it decorated, that it was scarcely completely furnished and ready as a residence when the king's attention having been directed to its magnificence by some of the courtiers, who desired to excite their master's jealousy, Wolsey presented to him the new edifice, and all its sumptuous furniture. In his letters to the king, while resident

there, he had dated them "from your palace at Hampton Court." Henry was much gratified by this exhibition of his favourite's munificent spirit, and in turn made him a gift of a residence at Richmond, in the Great Park—not the palace built by Henry VII., but a smaller building. Cavendish describes it as a little house, and neat, with a very fair garden—a poor exchange for Hampton Court.

King Ferdinand did not entirely abandon himself to despair at the independence of his son-in-law. After a little time he judiciously wrote a flattering letter, accompanying it with several valuable presents. These were so gratifying to King Henry, that on the 19th of October, 1515, Wolsey had to draw up a new treaty of alliance between them; the king of England at the same time entered into a new league against France. Negotiations were carried on with additional energy on the part of the father-in-law, who entertained more magnificent designs than ever—the union of the great empires of the East and West, with the conquest of Constantinople, being one; but an obstacle intervened, which prevented their accomplishment. He was taken ill in the autumn of 1515, and died in the January following.

While the English cardinal was engaged in his onerous duties, directing the foreign and home policy of his sovereign, he was far from remaining insensible of the great events going on in Italy, particularly in Rome. The death of Ferdinand, the invasion of Italy by Maximilian in person, with a powerful army, and the junction of the papal and imperial forces—notwithstanding the recent treaty

between Leo and Francis—was followed by the retreat of Maximilian from the vicinity of Milan. The Pontiff endeavoured to renew his good understanding with the French king, and successfully intrigued for the expulsion of the duke of Urbino, and transfer of his dominions to his nephew Lorenzo. A treaty that had been arranged between Francis I. and a Charles V., the young king of Spain, made a strong impression upon the cardinal, and he endeavoured to counteract what seemed objectionable in it, by causing Henry to join in a league with Charles and Maximilian.*

The Princess Mary had been christened the 20th of February, 1516, three days after her birth, and the cardinal was her godfather. This selection indicates the high position he held in the estimation of both parents. With Katherine he had long maintained the place of counsellor and friend: unfortunately, her Spanish prejudices were too frequently in the way of her judgment, and she always cultivated a feeling in favour of her kinsman Charles, which would regard with hostility any indication in the cardinal's measures of opposition to his interests.

Cardinal Sion arrived in England in 1516, sent by the Emperor to explain the intrigue with Charles V. that brought about the treaty of Noyon; he came also to borrow money, apparently a constant ne-

* Dumont, Supp., iii. 40. Date, 29th October, 1516. Maximilian soon proved that he was playing a double game by entering into a treaty with Francis, which had been concluded with Charles two months before. The king of France then formed an alliance with Switzerland at Fribourg, which insured him security from invasion.

cessity. He had an interview with the king and his minister at Greenwich Palace : then dined with Wolsey. After the meal, the latter was observed to be in a state of unusual irritation. This was produced by Maximilian having instructed his messenger to lay the blame of his retreat from Milan and its results to the refusal of Wolsey and Pace to comply with his pecuniary demands. Cardinal Sion also had to recommend the extravagant proposal of giving away the duchy of Milan without the consent of the possessor, and disposing of a reversion of the empire without the approval of the electors. Wolsey had reason to be in a rage; but he gratified his brother cardinal with douceurs to the value of 4,000 ducats; while a loan, quite as good as a gift, was insured to the Emperor on his engaging to carry on the war in earnest. When a large moiety of it had been received, it was discovered that the imperial deceiver had sold himself to France. The gross deception was continued by the cardinal of Sion, the archduchess of Savoy, and others in the imperial interests. Wolsey's suspicions had been aroused; but he kept his hand concealed while the game looked most desperate, and mystified his unscrupulous adversary as to the cards he was about to play.

Maximilian had pocketed 10,000 florins of good English money, and more was to be had; but the astute English ministers, Dr. Cuthbert Tonstall, Dr. William Knight, and the earl of Worcester, wrote to Wolsey with their eyes thoroughly open to imperial dishonesty. Giustinian had now a difficult part to play with the king and his ministers, who

received with well-affected surprise the intelligence of the surrender of Verona to the Venetians, though aware that the city had changed hands four times between the 8th and 17th of February.

The policy of the English cardinal met with its justification and its recompense. When Ferdinand died, and Charles V., his successor, returned to Spain, there was manifested an approximation of the government of that country towards England. There was a loan wanted from England, and ambassadors were sent to obtain it. They were hospitably entertained, and Wolsey, as usual, improved the opportunity. The Emperor had rendered himself contemptible, and Charles in Spain was no cause of anxiety. The situation was simplified; it had resolved itself into France against England, with the Pope, fearing imperialists and Frenchmen alike, and cajoling both with the utmost impartiality.

In the spring of 1517 rumours were circulated in Europe of an alteration in England's foreign policy, but the cardinal and his royal master betrayed no sign of change. In the summer months a negotiation was commenced: Francis desired peace, and sent ambassadors to England to treat with Wolsey. Charles heard of this, and endeavoured to obstruct the negotiation. Wolsey played his part with consummate address; he amused the Venetian ambassador with appearances of hostility to France. Henry entertained the Spanish ambassador with sentiments equally suggestive of ill-will to his powerful neighbour. At last the cardinal condescended to let in a little light on the minds of those bewildered plenipotentiaries. At least he said

to the representative of the republic, "If I perceive the king of France means well to his majesty, and will do justice, I will conclude this union. The king of France has now got a son, and the king of England a daughter; I will unite them by these means." On another occasion, when Giustinian ventured to refer to the interest France had shown in the prosperity of Venice, "Do not be surprised," he said; "you Venetians have often been deceived by kings of France." "Alius fuit Ludovicus, alius Franciscus," retorted the Venetian. "Galli sunt omnes" (rogues all), added Wolsey.*

Several of the Anglican bishoprics were still held by foreigners who resided abroad. Cardinal Adrian had the see of Bath, Silvester de Giglis that of Worcester; while Llandaff was in the hands of a Spaniard, Georgio Athequa, Queen Katherine's chaplain. Wolsey contrived to get the revenues of two of these sees into his possession by allowing an income to the absentees. When Fox died, he secured Winchester by surrendering Durham to the king; therefore, besides his archbishopric, he held the sees of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester—Cavendish adds Hereford. He was also abbot of St. Alban's, and retained several valuable benefices; indeed, so numerous were his preferments, that a story has been recorded of his having once, during a journey, so greatly admired the picturesque attraction of a parsonage as to express a wish to possess it. An attendant proved to him that it was one of his benefices.

His correspondence was not only singularly ex-

* "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

tensive, but he was addressed by some of the highest personages in Europe, of both sexes. Queen Margaret of Scotland, when writing to him, says, "My lord, I beseech you to show your good mind to me, as you have done ever, but specially now; for now is the time.* Her namesake, the archduchess, styles him, "Monsieur le Legate—mon bon filz," and subscribes herself, "Votre bonne mère Margueritte."

Giustinian, when writing to the Doge, 14th February, 1517, describes a visit he paid the cardinal when the duke of Suffolk was with him. Drawing him aside, his host exclaimed, "Gratulor vobis felicitatibus vestris; but I pray you do not molest the Church—touch not the hem of Christ's garment." The ambassador replied that he knew nothing of the matter. "Domine Orator," added Wolsey, "I have at present a great deal of business. We will confer together more at leisure." The Venetian took the hint and withdrew.†

In a subsequent communication to the Doge, 3rd March, he reports having dined with the cardinal, who had insinuated that a conspiracy existed at Cambray against the republic, in which three kings and the Pope had taken part. After dinner he endeavoured to settle the affair of Candia with his host.‡ The insinuation referred to the treaty entered into between Maximilian, Charles, and Francis, on the 11th of March of the preceding year. The Doge is told on the 19th of another conference with the cardinal respecting the wines of

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, vol. i. "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

† "Letters and Papers," ii. 943. ‡ Ibid., 964.

Candia, and again the latter had a fling at Cambray. "By God!" he cried, "they will plot to your detriment."

Giustinian reported to the Doge a subsequent conversation with Wolsey, when communicating the progress of the Turks. "Now is the time to invade him," he observed, "occupied as he is against the Soldans; or we might indeed obtain Constantinople and a great part of his empire." The ambassador adds: "I, although aware that his right reverend lordship never says what he means, but the reverse of what he intends to do, told him that this would be a most opportune moment; but that it would be requisite with all dispatch to endeavour to unite the Christian powers, and league them to this effect, discarding every other passion. He answered me that for this sole end were the king and himself labouring, although it had hitherto profited little, and that he would not cease pursuing this object. His only object has been to sow discord."*

The bishop of Worcester fell under the cardinal's displeasure for not having prevented "the infamous bull" that the Pope had granted respecting the bishopric of Tournay. He wrote a letter to de Giglis on the 24th of March, when he says that he must be satisfied with the Pontiff's excuses, though it is quite clear the reverse of them is nearer the truth. He thanks him for sending two very handsome cardinals' hats, and requests some *birretti*, according to the pattern sent, as the last he received were too large for his head;—promises to arrange about

* "Letters and Papers," ii. 991. "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

his money next week, and forward five hundred gold crowns as expenses for the bull "De ordinandis clericis;" moreover informs him that he encloses a letter for the Pope respecting Tournay, another for the reformation of the calendar, a third for the crusade, with several others, containing more secret matters.*

There appears to have been a little dissatisfaction on the part of the Pontiff. He had wished his cousin to be appointed to a benefice in Tournay, and promised to grant a brief much desired by Wolsey, if this wish were gratified. The bishop of Worcester, who communicates the intelligence, April, 1517, announces the intention of the Pope to send to England and elsewhere, ambassadors to dispose of indulgences, to raise a fund for the building of St. Peter's; and says that he has been directed by Leo to offer Wolsey a fourth to get the king's sanction; but if Wolsey desires him, he, the bishop, will endeavour to obtain the papal consent to a third being granted with that object.†

Previous to this the king of England had expressed in strong terms both to the Pontiff and to the bishop his dissatisfaction at the course taken by the Pope with regard to the administration of the church at Tournay.‡

In a letter from the University of Oxford to Wolsey, dated 16th April, 1517, the authorities praise his munificence, and report a riot that has just occurred; John Haynes, having armed four turbulent Bene-

* "Letters and Papers," ii. 974. † Ibid., 1537.

‡ See the letters of Henry, Leo, Cardinal Julius, and the Bishop.—Ibid., 925-33.

dictines and three seculars, who had endeavoured to slay one of the proctors.*

On the degradation of Cardinal Adrian, Wolsey secured the bishopric he had previously farmed; but the Pontiff betrayed his customary reluctance, in passing sentence of deprivation against the culprit, to legalize the vacancy. He sent Campeggio to England as one of the four legates he had selected to induce the principal sovereigns of Europe to embrace his grand scheme of a new crusade—a magnificent prospectus to raise twelve millions of dollars for the Holy See. Campeggio was detained at Calais through the intervention of Wolsey, who had been appointed co-legate in the mission. The Italian cardinal, after some months' detention in this dull English garrison town, was permitted to cross to Deal, when intelligence arrived that Adrian—Wolsey's constant opponent in the conclave—had been deprived. As some satisfaction for the check Campeggio had received, Wolsey at his own charge procured for him a handsome reception into London.

There is a house in Fleet Street which has the local reputation of having been the cardinal's, but it was never inhabited by him. The cause of its being decorated with Wolsey's cognizances is explained by Cavendish. Very early in the great prelate's career, as we have related, a magistrate in his neighbourhood placed him in the parish stocks. When the parish priest became chancellor, he sent for the person who had thus degraded him. The provincial great man left his mansion in the country,

* "Letters and Papers," ii. 1537.

probably hopeful of distinction, in consequence of having received a summons from the king's principal minister; but was confounded, when entering his presence, on being reminded of his conduct. Wolsey contented himself with directing the offender not to leave town till he received permission to return. Mr. Paulet took up his residence in the gate-house of the Temple; and to show his contrition, decorated it very handsomely, "garnishing the same all over the outside with the cardinal's arms, with his hat, with the cognizance and badges, and other devices, in so glorious a sort, that he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure." Nevertheless, according to the same authority, he was kept there for five or six years. He seems, however, to have acquired influence at court, where he subsequently figured prominently as Sir Amias Paulet.*

Wolsey's first town house appears to have been near the Bridewell, in Blackfriars; it was presented him by the king, and had been Sir Richard Empson's. Here he began to assume a stateliness of living corresponding with the eminence of his position. This presently demanding a nobler residence, when he became archbishop, he moved to the archiepiscopal mansion near Charing Cross, which he caused to be so sumptuously improved, that it rivalled the royal palace at Westminster.

The decorative splendour of York Place as much astonished the court as the magnificence of the establishment maintained there. It is dwelt upon with evident satisfaction by his faithful retainer,

* The Gate-house was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren.

who gives details from his personal knowledge. He for several years filled a post in the cardinal's household.

It had long been a custom in England for the nobility who possessed wealth and influence to entertain in their houses the cadets of other distinguished families, to be brought up with their own sons. This had lately been more particularly the case with spiritual peers. As these were employed in the highest offices of the State, it was considered a paramount advantage for the scions of lay peers to be reared in their mansions. The numerous posts of honour and emolument held by Wolsey, and his enormous patronage, caused him to be favoured in this way, apparently to an unprecedented extent. His establishment included "a mess" of young lords, and another of gentlemen; that is, the sons of noblemen and the sons of commoners mealed separately. They were glad to do the duties of page, or swell the state of the cardinal in any other humble capacity, to secure his protection. Among the young lords was the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland; but however high were their expectations, they regarded their patron with quite as profound a respect as they paid their parents.

Cardinal Wolsey maintained in his hall three distinct "boards," superintended by three officers of his immense establishment: the steward, who was a priest; the treasurer, who possessed the distinction of knighthood; and the comptroller, who was an esquire. There was also a cofferer holding the degree of doctor; a marshal, as well as a yeoman usher for each table; besides two grooms and al-

moners. In the hall kitchen there was occupation for two clerks of the kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of the spicery (they also were entitled to mess in the hall); besides two master-cooks, with twelve assistants, four yeomen of the scullery, and as many of the silver scullery, with two yeomen and two assistants of the pastry.

There was another kitchen appropriated exclusively for the preparation of the cardinal's diet, and that of distinguished guests. Here the master-cook must have been quite a personage, as he "went daily in velvet or in satin, with a chain of gold,"* and had eight assistants.

In the offices and gardens a hundred more servants were employed, making altogether upwards of a hundred and fifty; but these formed a moiety only of the regular household, which must have consisted of more than five hundred persons. One estimate says eight hundred. The expense of maintaining them, and providing them with the gorgeous liveries in which they were clothed—velvet suits with scarlet bonnets, enriched with embroidery, as well as with gold chains—must have been prodigious; but this was a trifle compared to his outlay in constantly entertaining the king and his court. The princely style in which he played the host on such occasions could not but have demanded a princely revenue.

* Cavendish.

CHAPTER III.

THOMAS WOLSEY, CARDINAL LEGATE À LATERE.

Wolsey gives the Pope a Lesson—His Diplomacy—Charles V.—His Bribes—Spanish Bishoprics—Letters of the King and the Cardinal—Wolsey appointed Chancellor and Legate *à latere*—His Magnificence—The Jealousy it excites—The Imperial Crown—Letter of Pace to the Cardinal—Spanish Opinions of Wolsey—Visit of Charles V. to England.—Henry VIII. and the Cardinal at the Field of the Cloth of Gold—Meeting with the Emperor—Increasing ill-feeling against the favourite Minister—Wolsey's Letters—His Embassy to the Emperor—His Despatches to the King—Private Conference with the King of Denmark—Interview with the Emperor and the Archduchess Margaret—Proposed Marriage of the Princess Mary—Liberality of the Emperor—The Duke of Buckingham's Quarrel with the Cardinal—His Execution—Impression it produced.

WOLSEY now determined to give both the Pope and the Emperor a lesson. When a confidential agent of the cardinal of Sion had been sent with a private communication to King Henry, he was kept waiting an extraordinary time. After an interview had been granted, the king was accompanied by Wolsey and the French ambassador, instead of being found alone, as was desired. The papal agent, while delivering his message, observed that the king had turned his back upon him, and before he had concluded, had walked out of the room.

Nothing could have more clearly established in

the mind of the envoy the power of Wolsey; but as if trying to make this clearer, the cardinal openly told his visitor he was perfectly aware that the Pontiff wished to overlook him, and employ other persons; nevertheless, that he was the man who could do or undo, as he pleased; assuring him that he could bring about an interview between the king of England with the king of France, or with the Emperor, or a meeting of all three, whenever he chose.

During another conference with the papal agent, Wolsey still more powerfully impressed him with a notion of his extraordinary influence in the present crisis, and having asserted that the principal continental princes had sent him full powers to effect a reconciliation between them, he requested that the Pope should authorize him to conclude a general peace for all Christendom.

It was soon evident both to the papal and imperial ambassadors that nothing could be done without the assistance of the king of England's favourite minister.

Leo detested Wolsey, and would have much rather assisted in his ruin than in his elevation; but both the Emperor and himself were by this time satisfied that their only hope of gaining the king of England would be through him; and as all churchmen, according to Roman ideas, might be had at a price, it was supposed that the English cardinal was purchasable also. The Emperor at least was well aware that he could only be secured by a very liberal retainer; therefore prepared to pay extravagantly for the services he could not do

without. Then, too, he felt convinced he must forward the honorarium in a manner that should take away from it the slightest appearance of corrupt intentions.

Wolsey, however, did not meet his co-legate till they proceeded together in a state procession to obtain an audience from the king at Greenwich Palace, August 3rd, 1517. This was a ceremonial of the most imposing description, the two illustrious ecclesiastics being its most prominent features. On the throne sat his majesty, attended by all the principal officers of state; and two chairs, covered with cloth of gold, were placed in front of it, a little to the right. The larger one was taken by the English, the smaller by the Italian cardinal. The former rose, and, uncovered, delivered a Latin oration, the king standing. At its conclusion, Henry replied in the same language "most elegantly and with all gravity." On their resuming their seats, Campeggio rose and exhibited a specimen of his Latinity, expressing the desire of the Pontiff for the peace of Christendom, and the necessity of a crusade against the infidel. Dr. Taylor answered for the king, that he did not require to be reminded of his duties as a Christian. After which king and legate retired. This was not very promising as far as regarded the twelve millions of ducats; but the ambassador had presently very convincing evidence, in the general neglect shown to him, that his mission was a failure.

Wolsey had several severe attacks of illness, particularly in the summer of 1517, when he suffered from repeated attacks of quinsey. The king was

at one time alarmed for his safety, and sent him affectionate and cheering messages. To Pace he acknowledged that he was no less contented with the cardinal's contentation, than though he had been his own father, "and assured the lords that there was no man living who pondered more the surety of his person and the common wealth of his realm."

Wolsey undertook a pilgrimage to Walsingham, and to "Our Lady Grace," and then went on to Norwich, to arrange a dispute respecting some land there, between the people of that town and the monks. He wrote to the king early in August, describing his proceedings in various affairs of importance, including the state of the negotiation with Francis for the payment of 900,000 francs for the surrender of Tournay; finally he brought under the royal observation a fray that had lately occurred at court, between Serjeant Pigott and Sir Andrew Winsor, respecting a disputed wardship, in which one man was slain; and he threatened the culprits with the Star Chamber.*

It was soon after his return to court that symptoms appeared in London of an intention on the part of the commonalty to hold what are now called indignation meetings against the increase of aliens in the country. The cardinal, knowing what mischiefs might result, sent for the civic authorities.

"How stands the City?" he demanded.

"Well, and in good quiet," confidently replied the chief magistrate.

* "Letters and Papers," ii. 1538. "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

"Nay," said the responsible minister, gravely, "we are informed that your young and riotous people will rise and distress the strangers. Hear ye of no such thing?"

"No, surely," was the mayor's answer, "and I trust so to govern them that the king's peace shall not be broken, and that I dare undertake, if I and my brother the aldermen may be suffered."

"Look well to the matter," was the cardinal's admonition, and he dismissed them.

The corporation proved unequal to the occasion. A riot, known as "the Evil May-day," occurred, and the minister had to bring into operation his military talent to suppress it; when some severity was employed. The excitement, however, still increased, and it was found necessary to exhibit a little clemency. On the 22nd of May the king sat in state in Westminster Hall, when the mayor, aldermen, and wealthy citizens, dressed in black, appeared, to excuse their own remissness and plead for the four hundred men and eleven women, who, with halters about their necks, and their arms tied with ropes, presented themselves, as condemned to the hangman. Queen Katherine, Queen Margaret of Scotland, and the Queen-dowager of France, fell on their knees before the king, and implored his mercy. He sternly refused. The cardinal added his prayers, and equally without avail. Wolsey announced the result to the miserable prisoners, who prostrated themselves and cried aloud for mercy. Then he, too, fell on his knees, and so wrought on the royal compassion by the urgency of his supplications that the king re-

lented. Upon which he rose and addressed them with tears in his eyes, imploring them to be good subjects, and not molest strangers protected by their sovereign; and when they were made aware of their pardon, "it was a fine sight," writes a reporter of the scene, "to see each man take the halter from his neck, and fling it in the air, and how they jumped for joy, making much signs of rejoicing, as became people who had escaped from extreme peril."

After this, in the same year, came on the attempt of Convocation to put down Dr. Standish, who had taken the popular side, in opposition to the regular clergy, and supported the royal prerogative. The cardinal advocated the rights of his order with reference to a decision of the judges that they had incurred the penalty of *præmunire*, and had no place in parliament, except as landowners—a very clear announcement of what was looming in the distance; but Henry was not disposed to have the royal authority questioned, and decided against the Convocation. The popular preacher had evidently recommended himself to the king, and though possessed of moderate capacity, he gained the royal favour. Thus quietly Henry was lending himself to the reformation; the papal supremacy, which had been so sharply attacked by the pre-Lutherans, was now openly denied by the king of England. Without knowing it, he was anticipating the great declaration against the papal system which he made several years later. The more extraordinary feature in this transaction is that it occurred when Wolsey was at the height of his power, and apparently completely swayed

his royal master. Did he suggest the king's decision?

His legal duties were as ably performed as had been his political. He was an enemy to chicanery and legal artifices to prolong litigation and ruin suitors; and, of course, had the entire profession against him. He was strictly impartial, and his decisions remarkable for their justice. In writing to the king in August, 1517, he says, "All this summer I have had neither riot, felony, nor forcible entry; but your laws be in every place indifferently ministered, without leaning of any manner."

This was strictly true; the country had never been so well governed, nor the laws so ably enforced. Might was not right, if he heard of injustice or oppression. He laboured assiduously as an administrator, while he elevated his country to a position among the European powers it had never before attained.

Wolsey carried out his intentions respecting France. An alliance between the two crowns, supplemented with a union between the French dauphin and the English princess, was secretly managed by the cardinal. On the 9th of July, 1518, an embassy from Francis arrived in England, headed by the bishop of Paris, and a retinue that included thirty gentlemen, fifty archers, tennis-players, wrestlers, and musicians. Wolsey took the bishop in hand and contrived to obtain very advantageous conditions. Subsequently came Bonnivet, the admiral, with a cavalcade six hundred in number. He wore a gown of cloth of silver raised, furred with rich sables, and his

company, in new "shemurs," made a most gallant array. The cardinal now took the admiral in hand, and succeeded as well with him as with the bishop. He then gained the good-will of the entire embassy by giving them a sumptuous banquet at his own house, which is thus reported by Giustinian:—

"After dinner the cardinal of York was followed by the entire company to his own house, where they sat down to a most sumptuous supper, the like of which, I fancy, was never given by Cleopatra or Caligula; the whole banqueting hall being so decorated with huge masses of gold and silver that I fancied myself in the tower of Chosroes, where that monarch caused divine honours to be paid him. After supper a mummery, consisting of twelve male and twelve female dancers, made their appearance in the richest and most sumptuous array possible, being all dressed alike. After performing certain dances in their own fashion, they took off their visors. The two leaders were the king and the queen-dowager of France (duchess of Suffolk), and all the others were lords and ladies, who seated themselves apart from the tables, and were served with countless dishes of confections and other delicacies. After gratifying their palates, they gratified their eyes and hands—large bowls filled with ducats and dice were placed on the table for such as liked to gamble; shortly after which the supper-tables were removed, when dancing recommenced, and lasted until midnight.

"When the banquet was done, in came six minstrels disguised, and after them followed three gentlemen in wide and long gowns of crimson-satin, every one having a cup of gold in his hands: the

first cup was full of angels and royals, the second had divers bales of dice, and the third had certain pairs of cards. These gentlemen offered to play at mumchance, and when they had played the length of the first board, then the minstrels blew up, and then entered into the chamber twelve ladies disguised.

"Twelve couples were formed, led by the king and his sister. On this company twelve knights attended in disguise and bearing torches. All these thirty-six persons were disguised in one suit of fine green satin, all over covered with cloth of gold, undertied together with laces of gold, and had masking-hoods on their heads; the ladies had tires made of braids of damask cloth, with long hairs of white gold. All these maskers danced at one time, and after they had danced, they put off their visors and then they were all known. The admiral and lords of France heartily thanked the king that it pleased him to visit them with such dissport."*

There is little doubt that they quite as heartily thanked their munificent host. But this international entertainment had only commenced. The marriage of the very young couple was performed at Greenwich Palace on the 5th of October. The English cardinal placed the wedding-ring on the finger of the princess, which the Lord Admiral Bonnivet, as proxy for the little bridegroom, passed to the second joined. The former then performed mass, and then feasting and dancing went on with extraordinary vigour.

The treaty and the marriage were equally commended by English statesmen who had hitherto

* "Letters and Papers," ii. "Archives of Venice," ii.

kept aloof from Wolsey's political arrrangements. Fox wrote to him in an unwonted cordial spirit, saying, "It was the best deed that ever was done for England, and next to the king, the praise of it is due to you."* He gained golden opinions from all quarters at home and abroad; the kings of England, of France, and of Spain becoming rivals in their expressions of regard. Giustinian was obliged to admit that he was seven times more in repute than if he had been the Pope himself. In short the great cardinal was at the zenith of his glory. His jealous contemporaries seemed ashamed of their prejudices; his secret enemies were silent and abashed—his triumph was complete.

Francis, apparently satisfied that the English minister would cultivate a grateful sense of the service he had rendered him, made military demonstrations in Italy, where he obtained some successes. But neither Wolsey nor the king could be reconciled to French conquest there. Presently negotiations were commenced with the view of a joint effort with the emperor Maximilian to expel the French forces from the country. Francis, however, renewing his friendly relations with the cardinal archbishop, nothing came of the imperial project, while a closer union was effected between England and France. On the 2nd of October, 1518, a treaty was completed, offensive and defensive. Among its provisions was one for the restoration of Tournay to the French for a sum of 600,000 crowns, and an indemnity to Wolsey for the loss of the bishopric, of 12,000 livres.

Duke Maximilian Sforza, when Francis I. in-

* "Letters and Papers," ii.

vaded Italy and conquered the duchy of Milan, had sent his secretary to England imploring assistance from King Henry. He found his way to the cardinal, and promised in his master's name a pension of 10,000 ducats per annum, to commence as soon as the duke had recovered his duchy, and to continue as long as it remained in the possession of his family. This pension it appears had been promised some time before.*

The opinions of the agents of the Emperor as to the disposition of Wolsey must be taken with some reserve. It was, however, natural to those who knew that the Pope and the papal court were purchasable, to calculate that an English ecclesiastic might be secured by the same means. A price was boldly offered—his appointment as legate, the bishopric of Badajos, estimated at 5,000 ducats annual income, besides a pension of 2,000 ducats yearly out of another Spanish bishopric (Palencia): a very handsome bribe. It was a business transaction; and the English ambassador at Rome, when he endeavoured to get the bulls for sanctioning these gifts into his possession, was made to understand that Wolsey must first do what was required of him. Other Englishmen were bought at the same time—the bishop of Durham with a pension of 1,000 florins, Richard Pace with 800, and Brian Tuke with 300.† The cardinal did not long retain his peninsular see; he sold it to the bishop of Elva for an annual income of 2,500 ducats, and the Emperor sanctioned the bargain.‡

* Cott. MSS., Vit. B., ii. f. 168.

† "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth). ‡ Ibid.

The first letter of the king to his confidential minister, which has been preserved, was written in June or July, 1518. It is holograph. He announces the pregnancy of Queen Katherine, and professes to be writing on subjects so secret as to enforce his becoming his own secretary. It concludes with "Written by the hand of your loving Prince, Henry R."*

Secretary Pace wrote the cardinal the same intelligence, July 5th, by the king's command. The first letter of Wolsey preserved, was written on the 8th July, 1519, is addressed to Henry, and reports some statements of Dr. Hesdin, ambassador from Charles V., respecting certain tumultuous proceedings of Frenchmen and others in London, that appeared to be an indignity offered to his master, who had just been elected emperor. The writer explains the measures he had taken to preserve the peace.†

In dress Wolsey was splendid on all occasions; crimson satin, or taffeta of the same colour, or scarlet, richly embroidered, formed its usual materials; gloves and stockings corresponded in colour with his hat; and his shoes were enriched with gems and gold. Whenever he desired to make a more public display, his red hat was borne before him by a nobleman, while he was attended by a train of eight hundred persons of good social position, including ten noblemen, fifteen knights, and forty esquires. Two tall priests carried before him large silver crosses, to de-

* British Museum, Vespasian F. III., leaf 34 b. It has been printed more than once, and is the first in the State Papers, published by the Record Commission.

† Idem. i. 10.

note his union of dignities as cardinal and archbishop. They were preceded by two gentlemen, each bearing a pillar of the same metal, while before them marched a pursuivant-at-arms, with a heavy mace of silver gilt. Many of his attendants were mounted on steeds, showily caparisoned. In the midst of the cavalcade appeared the spiritual and temporal lord, riding on a mule, with saddle, bridle, and trappings of crimson velvet.

Naturally enough this princely exhibition excited severe comments among the great men of the country, whom it seemed to throw into the shade, and the Ipswich tradesman's boy began to be referred to with more or less acrimony; some, indeed, indulging in the vindictive appellation of "the butcher's dog."

One of his domestics has left on record a picture of the great man's greatness, to which subsequent biographers have always been largely indebted.* From him we learn that at his levees, which were as well attended as were those of the sovereign, he made his appearance in robe, stockings, and hat of the same gorgeous tint, with a tippet of sables around his neck, carrying in his hand an orange filled with some aromatic confection, with which he went sniffing and tasting among the crowd of suitors. His influence was so well known, that not only did every person who wanted employment, or desired his good offices to promote any suit they were carrying on, seek his assistance, but many of rank and position were glad to take service in his household. Very few of the applicants for favour came

* Cavendish.

empty-handed; indeed, the value of the presents he received, and the revenues he obtained from his various preferments, amounted to an annual income said to be equal to that enjoyed by the king.*

During the abortive negotiation with Maximilian, an offer had been made by him to Henry of the empire; but had been declined. The Emperor died on the 6th of January, 1519. The king and his able minister then considered that the imperial crown might be worth having; and Pace was sent to Germany to endeavour to obtain the votes of the electors. The cardinal archbishop furthered the project with all his power; not without an impression that the imperial dignity in the hands of his liberal master would secure to him the now sole object of his ambition, the papal tiara. There were other candidates in the field, and much *finesse* was practised by some of them to conceal their pretensions from their rivals; but Charles, who had so lately succeeded Ferdinand, as king of Castile, secured the election on the 25th of June, 1519. He was therefore duly invested with the dignity of king of the Romans and emperor of Germany, and figures prominently in history as the Emperor Charles V.

The report which Pace wrote to Wolsey, August 11th, 1519, of his interview with the king when he declared the result of the imperial election, is very graphic.

"Please it your Grace.

"The King's Highness at my arrival hither yes-

* See Appendix.

terday, was playing with the hostages.* As soon as he had ended his play, his Grace admitted me to audience, and accepted me lovingly, and heard me at large, declaring unto him all the business of the late election of the king of the Romans, which declaration I ordered precisely according to such communication as was had betwixt your Grace and me, at my departure from you. And when the King's Highness had well perceived and pondered the great charges and profusion of money spent by the said king of the Romans for the obtaining of that dignity, his Grace did highly wonder thereat, and said that he was right glad that he obtained not the same, and called unto him the duke of Suffolk (Brandon), and showed the same unto him. His Grace was singularly well contented to hear how honourably I was received in Almagne (Germany), and called the duke of Buckingham to hear that.

"As touching the Pope's Holiness, I showed unto his Grace that of three of his orators, two undoubtedly were corrupted by the French king; expressing the reasons and evident causes why. Whereunto his Grace said these words, 'By the mass!' giving firm credence unto the same, so that I trust verily that all that matter shall be laid unto the same orators, and not to the Pope."†

It is not often that an unsuccessful ambassador finds so pleasant a reception on his return; but in

* The French gentlemen, Messieurs De Rocheoit, De la Melharaye, De Montpesat, De Morette.

† "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 8.

the earlier years of his reign Henry was a model among monarchs for good humour and generosity.

Leo X. wrote to Charles V. soon after his coronation, not only congratulating him on his accession, but asserting that the Emperor and the Pope were like the two great planets that regulate the seasons, in comparison with which all others were insignificant. Preceding popes had let the world know which was the sun of this system, and more than one predecessor of Charles had protested against such dictum. Nor was he likely to accept it. He showed by his subsequent actions unequivocally that the imperial power in his hands was not a borrowed light.

Wolsey had now to set the board afresh, and try a game for his master against these, or with these dominant powers, against Francis I. of France, or with him, as circumstances should direct.

The Spanish ambassadors were strongly prejudiced against Wolsey. Juan Manuel, imperial ambassador in Rome, writes to the Emperor, 13th June, 1520: "The substance of what the auditor writes to the Pope is that the cardinal of England said to him he could do or undo whatever he liked, and conclude or not conclude an alliance between the king of England, the Emperor, and the king of France. He boasted that it was in his power to bring about an interview of all three of them. Thinks the cardinal would do well to be more careful in the words he uses, when he speaks of what he can do. Supposes that the cardinal believes the Pope to be secretly a partisan of the king of France, and that this was the reason why he

spoke of the interview of the three sovereigns. The statesmen in Rome, however, are persuaded that the cardinal will do what is most lucrative for himself, as, for his own private interests, he has already, on a former occasion, induced his master to undertake a war, which was by no means profitable to the king. The ambassador begs that this communication be kept strictly secret, since, if it were divulged, the persons by whom he has been informed would be exposed to great trouble, and could not inform him in future of anything that is going on."

Written in the margin by the Chancellor Mercorino de Gattinara: "The secret shall be kept: As for his estimation of the character of the cardinal of England, it must be confessed that it is only too true. Within a few days the last trial will be made, and the man will be known."*

The Pope appears to have entertained an opinion of Wolsey not higher than that expressed by the Spanish ambassador, but was more cautious in letting it be known, merely saying that he was the governor of the king of England, a very strange person, who made his master go hither and thither just as he pleased. Even the Auditor de la Camera in his next communication from London acknowledges that he holds the cardinal of England in greater esteem than the king. The fact is that the powerful English minister was feared more than he was admired at Rome. Juan Manuel writes, 5th July: "The Pope is so desirous to conclude the alliance, that if he is asked to make the cardinal his

* "Archives of Simancas" (Bergenroth), ii. 306.

legate in England, and if pressure be brought to bear upon him he will nominate the cardinal, although there is no man on the face of the earth whom his Holiness detests so heartily as the cardinal."*

Writing again on the same day to the Emperor, he announces that a consistory was held, in which the sees of Palencia and Badajos were disposed of as required. "It has been very hard work, as the cardinal of England is much disliked in Rome, and the disposal of the see of Palencia involved pecuniary losses to the Pope." Juan Manuel never fails to exhibit his prejudice against the cardinal when referring to him. On the 13th of July, while reporting the transmission of the bull in his favour, he says, "The cardinal gains a great many ducats by that favour, and even if his pecuniary advantages were not great, he would still like it, as he can now say that the Pope and kings do him honour." He is, moreover, constantly making it appear that the English cardinal is a person of very little consideration either in Rome or in France; yet he is all the while giving unanswerable evidence that no negotiation can go on without him.

Leo X., the further to bind to his service a man who unquestionably engrossed in England the combined influence of Church and State, appointed him *legate à latere*, which gave him spiritual authority over the Anglican Church, in all appointments, regulations, rewards, and punishments. Holding the great seal at the same time, his power was omnipotent. He chose to show that he possessed it, and

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 309.

chose also to show that he could exercise it. His assumption of dignity corresponded with his increase of influence.

The good understanding established by the treaty between France and England had not been seriously affected by their rival pretensions for the empire. The fact was that Francis required the alliance of Henry to further his political views. Charles V. was no less solicitous for it to enable him to defeat them. Both monarchs about the same time made overtures for a personal interview; and Francis gained the active co-operation of the cardinal-archbishop by issuing a commission addressed to him, empowering him to arrange a meeting in France in the summer of 1520.

Charles V. heard of the preparations making in England and France for a projected interview of their sovereigns, and resolved on prompt interposition to prevent, as far as possible, the effect he anticipated. Concealing his intentions from all, except the powerful English minister, whom he desired to attach to his interests, he sailed from his own shores, and directed his course to the white cliffs of the island empire, then two distinct kingdoms, paving the way for his favourable reception by an imperial douceur, of seven thousand ducats per annum, to his "most dear friend,"* the director of its foreign and home policy. Not satisfied with this generosity to the counsellor, he appealed to the chivalrous feelings of the monarch, by coming unannounced and unexpected.†

* "Rymeri Fœdera," xiii. 714.

† Memorandum.—"That in the year of our Lord MDXX.,

"And one night in the said Whitsun weeke, there was a great triumphe made in the great hall of the royale palace, wherein daunced the Emperour with the queene of Englande, the kyng of Englande with the queene of Arragon, the Emperour's mother. This triumphe being donne, the tables were covered in the saide hall, and the banqueting dyshes were served in, before which rode the Duke of Buckyngham, as sewer, upon a whyte hobby; and in the middest of the hall was a partition of boordes, at whiche partition the Duke alyghted of from his hobby, and kneeled on his knee, and that done, tooke agayne his horse backe until he was almost halfe way unto the table, and there alyghted, and dyd the lyke as before, and then rode to the table, where he delivered his hobby, and sewed [served] kneelyng at the table where the Emperour was; and the kyng with his retinue kept the other ende of the hall."*

The ceremonial of the interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I. was intended to be one of the grandest scenes of the kind that had ever taken place. The king of France had ap-

and in the XII. yere of Kyng Henrye the Eight, came Charles the fyft of that name, newly elected Emperour, to Dover, where the Kyng met hym and dyd accompanie hym to Canterburie, and were received together rydyng under one canopie at Saint Georges Gate at Canterburie, and Cardinal Wolsey riding next before them with the chiefest of the nobilitie of England and of Spayne, and on both the sydes of the streats stoode al the clarkes and priestes that were within XX myles of Canterburie, with long censures [censers], crosses, surplesses, and copes of the richest."—Dugdale, "Monasticon," i. 118.

* Dugdale, "Monasticon."

pointed a place of meeting in the open country between Guisnes and Ardres. A day was selected in the summer month of June, 1520, and the French court were using their utmost efforts to make a becoming display. Wolsey was no less anxious that the English court should appear to advantage, and organized a demonstration in which the magnificence of his royal master and his own consequence should be thoroughly impressed upon his French allies. According to an official programme, the persons selected to assist in it were 5,804 in number, with 3,223 horses.

The contribution of "my Lord Legate" to the show consisted of a retinue of twelve chaplains, fifty gentlemen, 238 other attendants, and 130 horses. The extent to which this exceeded that of the greatest peers in the king's suite, may be understood by reference to the limit in the same way permitted to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the dukes of Suffolk and Buckingham,—five chaplains, ten gentlemen, fifty-five other servants, and thirty horses.*

Magnificent pavilions had been prepared with gorgeous elaboration for the accommodation of the two sovereigns. That of Francis was blown down, and he had taken up his lodging in the castle at Ardres.

On the 4th of June the king, queen, and cardinal, with a retinue of dukes, marquises, earls, prelates, barons, knights of the Garter, knights, chaplains, serjeants-at-arms, heralds, yeomen of the guard, officers of the household, minstrels, and trumpeters,

* Rymer, "Fœdera," xiii. 710.

with the wives of the lords, knights, and gentlemen, including the ambassadors of the Emperor and the republic of Venice, started from Calais, every one in his best array; but Wolsey was distinguishable above all for the splendour and imposing appearance of his suite. They arrived at a field, which, from the grandeur with which it was furnished for the occasion, was styled "the Field of the Cloth of Gold." A chronicler describes the English lodging as the most noble and royal lodging ever before seen; so well appointed as a palace, with chamber furniture and provisions, that the members of the royal household marvelled at its completeness.* The Marshal de Fleuranges, an eye-witness, confirms this statement, dwelling particularly on the chapel prepared for the spiritual comfort of the two sovereigns in a style that must have satisfied the grand ideas even of the cardinal legate.†

Nevertheless there was insufficient accommodation for the multitude that flocked to the rendezvous in the new buildings, as well as in the neighbouring town of Guisnes; so tents were set up in the field in great number.

Francis remained at Ardres, where the lord cardinal went in state to pay his respects. There similar preparations were in progress. The French court were enthusiastic in their admiration of

* Hall's "Chronicle," 606.

† "Mémoires de Fleuranges," 320. "Et la chapelle de merveilleuse grandeur, et bien estoffée tant de reliques que de toutes autres paremens; et vous asseure que si tout cela estoit bien fourni, aussi estoient les caves, car les maisons des deux princes durant le voyage ne furent fermées à personne."

Wolsey's grandeur, or, as Hall expresses it, the triumphant doings of the cardinal's royalty. He appears to have remained at the French quarters arranging the stately meeting of the two kings. On the 7th Francis and Henry set out from their palaces at the same time, and met in the vale of Ardres, where in a grand pavilion they passed the day enjoying a sumptuous entertainment, and then returned to their residences at Ardres and Guisnes.

The tournament and other sports that followed have often been described. Wolsey was of course a spectator only; but he was not idle during these displays. Active negotiations were carried on apparently with the most amicable intentions, but without the slightest beneficial result.

The cardinal archbishop had shown sufficient solicitude to maintain friendly relations with the king of France; but after receiving the numerous marks of attention Francis took care to show him, he accompanied his royal master to Gravelines, where he met the Emperor and is said to have received imperial retainers to a very large amount. Charles accompanied the English monarch and his influential minister to Calais, making use of every inducement to win both. The king was conciliated by being appointed arbiter in his dispute with Francis, and the cardinal was assured of the first vacancy in the pontifical throne.

The conference at Gravelines completed the arrangements suggested during the brief visit of Charles to England. Wolsey having apparently been gained over, he again could securely appeal to the chivalrous susceptibilities of the king of

England.* He had therefore frankly offered to make Henry sole arbitrator in his present or prospective differences with Francis. The idea of being master of the situation in a cause of such European importance was extremely gratifying to Henry. Though fresh from the blandishments of the French court, this dexterous piece of flattery could not be resisted. The king found himself acknowledged as the resource of the two greatest nationalities in the world, and very agreeable must have been the impression this sense of supreme dignity, authority, and importance created. The post of honour was, in fact, held by his able counsellor.

The animosity of Leo X. against Wolsey was so great that he had tried to secure a combination of all the ambassadors in England to deprive him of power and position; he had also persuaded the Emperor to make a personal remonstrance with Henry against

* Among the national characteristics manifested on this occasion, was a very striking one. The embassy of Admiral Bonnivet had been accompanied by tennis-players, who exhibited extraordinary dexterity at the game. In return, the cardinal caused a number of wrestlers to cross the Channel with him. They challenged France, and so well maintained the fame of their country against all who ventured to compete with them, that they carried off the prize. This superiority did not satisfy Henry, who, after a jovial carouse, suddenly caught hold of his adversary of France by the collar, crying "My brother, I must wrestle with you." Francis, nothing loth, took a firm grip, and they struggled for the mastery. From what is well known of the physical advantages and athletic accomplishments of the king of England, an easy victory ought to have been certain; but the French authority for this incident asserts that the king of France not only resisted every attempt to trip him up, but eventually twisted his opponent round, and threw him with great violence.—"Mémoires de Fleuranges," 329.

the excessive influence of his minister. But Charles was a much better diplomatist than the Pope, and knew the use he could make of Wolsey too well to attempt anything to his prejudice at so critical a period of his fortunes. He had some time before spoken to the king of England on the subject; the result proved that he had much better gain over the minister than oppose him.

After Charles had arranged his programme with the powerful English minister, he proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where his coronation as emperor took place with a splendour worthy the successor of Charlemagne. The English ambassadors to his court were dazzled with this spectacle of magnificence, and due care was taken that their reports home should strengthen the favourable impression the Emperor had created in England and at Gravelines. The value of the imperial professions of amity towards Henry and of regard for the able director of his government was soon to be tested; and as if the penetration of the latter had foreseen their insincerity, Wolsey devoted himself to the task of making profitable use of Charles as long as there seemed a prospect of English interests being advanced by the alliance.

By not understanding the motive which governed Wolsey throughout his brilliant career,* and by

* A popular American historian has been led into an erroneous estimate of England's greatest cardinal. Could Mr. Prescott have made himself acquainted with the course of Wolsey's proceedings, as revealed in his correspondence preserved in the recent publication of contemporary State Papers, he must have arrived at a more just opinion of his policy and disposition.—See "History of the Reign of Charles V.," book ii., and compare with Brewer's

taking the politic display he made of the power and wealth he possessed for a predominating influence, more than one historical writer has been betrayed into an erroneous estimate of his character. He acted in strict consonance with the spirit of the age in which he flourished, while in intelligence he was far in advance of it. Let a fair comparison be made between this noble illustrator of self-help and the emperors, the kings, the pontiffs, the prelates, and other illustrious personages whom he moved from square to square, as the exigencies of the great game he played with consummate skill demanded, and his moral as well as intellectual superiority becomes manifest. Doubtless there are shadows in the portrait: in the sixteenth century these were ordinarily very dark; but viewed fairly with surrounding contemporary circumstances, the portrait will be found worthy of national admiration.

The rapid rise of the royal favourite excited the envy and the secret malevolence of less fortunate courtiers. Those who through their family influence had maintained high places at court, or had contrived to rise to eminence in Church and State by other sources of interest, considered themselves neglected, and many withdrew to their country houses. Even the higher officers of the household, who maintained their places, with difficulty concealed their annoyance as Wolsey mounted over their heads from one post of authority to another, till all patronage appeared to be in his hands. Each professed the utmost devotion, but even those whom

"Introduction to Letters and Papers," Henry VIII., vols. i. and ii.—Rolls Publication.

he favoured most seem to have hated him most. The archbishop of Canterbury never could be reconciled to the archbishop of York taking precedence of him as legate, and many of his suffragans shared his sentiments. The great officers of the crown were impatient of his overpowering dignity as cardinal; and the law officers were equally dissatisfied with having a clerical chancellor at their head. Here were the elements of a great combination, that would be sure to prevail against him at the first sign of diminution of the royal favour.

The antagonism of Charles and Francis had by this time become irrepressible. The king of France strove to create an insurrection in Castile, and failed; in reprisal the Emperor, supported by the Pope, prepared to invade France. Francis requested the mediation of the king of England. To this proposal his opponent immediately consented. Henry then invested the cardinal archbishop with full powers to arbitrate; there was, however, a secret understanding that the cause of the Emperor should be favoured by a joint invasion of the territory of his opponent and a destructive attack on the French navy. Evidence of such understanding may be found in a letter from secretary Pace to the cardinal, where this extremely doubtful proceeding is described as "a high and great enterprise."*

Wolsey had now to undertake an important embassy. His business letters to the king are generally relative to instructions given to officers under him, or communications with the foreign ambassadors. He wrote in his own hand the *brouillon* or rough draft,

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 23—Record Commission.

of which a fair copy was taken by one of his amanuenses: to this he added—

"Most humble chapleyn,
"T. CARD^LIS. EBOR."

He varied this practice by dictating the draft, correcting it on perusal, and sending a fair copy with the usual addition. One he addressed to Henry at this period commences thus:—

"SIR,—In my most humble and lowly manner I recommend unto your Grace, ascertaining the same, that I have received to my great consolation and comfort by your servant, bearer hereof, your most honourable and courteous remembrance, with your gracious offer made unto me for my relief in this my voyage; which things most evidently and manifestly showeth and declareth your excellent goodness and favour towards me; and the same hath, on my faith sine, so much inwardly gladdened my heart, not for your good but for your kindness, that all the pains, labours, studies, and travails which I can take in your service shall, by the remembrance hereof be to me singular pleasure and solace; and more joy in this life cannot come to my heart than to perceive that your Highness doth in so good part accept and take my poor service, which I trust in God shall be so employed as may be to your exaltation and honour, and the weal of all Christendom."*

While detained at Dover, August 1st, 1521, by contrary winds, the cardinal wrote to the king that he had completed arrangements for organizing

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 14.

a force of six thousand archers, and had forwarded drafts of letters for his majesty to write to the Emperor and to my lady (the archduchess). He concludes, "And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate."* Pace was in frequent correspondence with the cardinal after he had crossed the Channel. He held the post of secretary to the king, and seems to have been somewhat anxious respecting his responsibility. He writes: "I shall order my writing unto your Grace according to your commandment, in all points, in such wise that your Grace shall have more cause to complain of lack of wit than of faith and diligence in me. The king hath appointed the best trumpet that is here to give attendance upon your Grace." †

In a despatch from Wolsey to his sovereign, dated 4th August, 1521, he describes his negotiation with the imperial ambassadors, not only respecting the proposed matrimonial alliance, but "how provision should be made for your indemnity, if either by rupture of the sponsals with France or by giving assistance to the Emperor, such pensions, dues, and debts, as be now yearly paid out of France, with the dower of your sister, were restrained and withheld from you." After narrating the discussion that ensued, the cardinal adds: "Whereupon I somewhat mollified their hard opinions, and induced them to think reasonable, expedient, and necessary to provide for your indemnity, so that I have good hope; whereas ye have now out of France the sum of £16,000, or thereabouts, ye shall have yearly paid unto you forty thousand marks till such time

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 25. † Ibid., 27.

as either you have recovered your righteous inheritance in France, or by some composition and treaty be recompensed of as great, or greater, yearly sum to be contented and paid unto you."*

Wolsey remained at Calais, having ascertained that the imperial ambassadors had not been supplied with full powers, and he declined to commence his journey to the Emperor till the preliminary arrangements had been completed. He wrote a postscript to his despatch, with instructions for the selection of commanders, and concludes very spiritedly:

"And, sir, if the case shall so require, during my abode on this side the sea, that for good respect and on sure grounds you shall be moved to send the said captains and archers hither for defence and aid of the Emperor, I assure your Grace, though I be a spiritual man, yet I will not only enterprise to order and govern your said retinue at their hither coming, but also cause the Emperor personally so to set forth his whole puissance with them. And I myself actually to proceed with my cross with him, that either I shall [have] the puissance of the Emperor joined with them to do some great exploit, [or else] that your purpose shall not be disappointed nor your money spent in [vain, or] else I would advise your Grace in time not to send them hither."

More than one communication passed between the king or his secretary and his ambassador respecting the proposed armament, in which the latter displayed a knowledge of military details scarcely to be expected from "a spiritual man;" but he still wrote in a spirit perfectly in accordance with his

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 28.

offer to command the contingent for effecting "some great exploit." Pace declares that the conduct of the captain of a French ship in capturing a Spanish ship in the Thames had greatly displeased his master, who had "taken the same very displeasantly, and could in no wise be contented," and that he anticipates war. He adds the following, to Wolsey, more agreeable piece of intelligence: "The king hath commanded two great harts to be baked, and sent to your Grace, of such he has killed himself." *

At Calais, as was his wont, Wolsey made the most of the opportunity for developing his own importance. The negotiations were, however, conducted with his customary skill. Presently, in writing home, he complained that the pretensions of both parties were irreconcilable, and that, therefore, he had determined to use his personal influence with the Emperor to abate the largeness of his demands.

There could be no valid objection to such a proceeding, and it seemed that the imperial policy might be biassed by the personal influence of the arbitrator; so with a magnificent retinue, that must have made a profound impression on the good Catholics in the very Catholic Netherlands, he proceeded to Bruges, then very much as it is now, a kind of Flemish Rome, crowded with religious establishments of all denominations. Here his reception was enthusiastic, the clerical population turning out in every variety of order to do honour to the *legate à latere*. They could not have failed to look with admiration on a member of their own profession who had accumulated on himself so

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 36.

many ecclesiastical advantages. So much prosperity must have had an exemplary effect on the least aspiring members of those religious communities.

Here he met the Emperor, and with him the arbitrator remained in confidential conference. While thus engaged, Christian II., king of Denmark, who had married the sister of Charles, and was paying him a visit, opened a private communication with Wolsey, then called on him at his residence, and conferred with him respecting an amicable treaty between England and Denmark. The king appears to have made a favourable impression on the ambassador, who, while writing an account of the interview to Henry, commends him as "right wise, sober, and discreet."

After this Wolsey had an audience of the Emperor and the archduchess, who, finding they could not precipitate a declaration from England against France, were content to put it off till Charles could again visit England. The latter seems to have been extremely gracious: "And in the presence of my lady concluded perpetually to join with you above all princes, and that he would as effectually lean to my advice therein as to his own council; adding, furthermore, that he would accept and take me as his father; with other many good and loving words." *

All these blandishments were insincere: Charles was an adept at deception, and had not the slightest intention of doing anything, except making use of the cardinal to forward his political schemes. After this came the important discussion respecting the indemnity for the king, and the dower Henry was

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 38.

to give his daughter. The negotiator thus states the result:—

"Nevertheless, after long reasoning by the space of four or five hours, we at the last finally concluded upon the said marriage and indemnity respecting your daughter's traduction till she be of perfect age. Assigned the dot of £80,000 to be given with her by your Grace. Howbeit, they demanded a million of ducats, showing that so much was offered with the daughter of Portugal.* And as touching the sum of £80,000, so much was granted by King Louis for the marriage of your sister. And your said daughter shall have assigned for her dower the sum of £10,000, whereof the most part to be appointed in these Low Countries, of the best lands, and the residue of similar lands in Spain; which is larger than any dower that ever was assigned to any daughter of England. And it is also specially provided that out of the said sum of £80,000 such debts as be owing unto you by the Emperor shall be deducted, which shall diminish the said sum for the most part thereof."

The indemnity was arranged as satisfactorily, and the Emperor and the archduchess lavished the most flattering attentions on the ambassador. Wolsey, in his despatch to the king, thus described the imperial liberality: "For surely, sir, since our arrival here, we all have been in the highest manner entertained at his proper costs and charges, and in such delicate, plenteous, and sumptuous manner, that I never heard of or saw the like."

The king was extremely pleased; indeed, Pace had

* Princess Isabella, married to Charles in 1526.

to state in his next communication that the cardinal's singular diligence and high wisdom had so fulfilled his majesty's desires on every point that he was unable to tell how his affairs could have been better handled, and returns as hearty thanks as he can devise. Nevertheless, Henry was anxious that Wolsey should obtain a bond from the Emperor for his further security.

From Bruges on the 24th of August, the ambassador forwards another despatch chiefly respecting the sending of additional ships in the Channel. It contains the following paragraph: "And sir, whereas your secretary, amongst other things, writeth by your commandment, that notwithstanding the pickande words contained in the Emperor's letters, you doubt not that I will look to your honour and surety, forbearing therefore further to instruct me in that behalf. Sir, if such difficulties, arguments, and persuasions as have been used by the Emperor's council from day to day were to your Grace known, and the reasons by me set forth to the confutation of the same, sometimes sharp words, and sometimes in pleasant manner, with the labours, business, and study that I have taken therein, whereby, for lack of sleep, I have been disquieted with sundry diseases, your Grace should evidently perceive that I have omitted, according to my most bounden duty, as far as my poor wit would extend, nothing that might redound to the adv[ancement of] your honour and surety."*

This elicited another letter of thanks from the king, even more cordial than the preceding, with

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 43.

a very kindly expressed desire that the cardinal should take care of his health. When Wolsey writes again, his communication is not only full of martial ardour, in consequence of certain military successes gained by the Emperor, but contains the singular announcement that he has ordered two hundred barrels of gunpowder to be smuggled into Antwerp for the Emperor's use.* In this correspondence we find the ambassador displaying a knowledge of commerce as well as politics, preparing for every possible contingency, and managing everything with such address, that the king's satisfaction was complete. Secretary Pace acknowledged that his master's contentment with all the cardinal's proceedings cannot be painted so well with a pen as it is impressed upon his heart. Henry promised to write his approval under his own hand, and did so about November.

Notwithstanding this perfect understanding, on Wolsey, in one of his despatches, stating that he was indisposed to doubt the French king, Henry appears to have taken offence, and caused his secretary to write in a fault-finding spirit. The ambassador vindicated himself at considerable length, and his arguments appear to have been well taken.

The style in which Wolsey had conducted his embassy was considered to be in every way worthy of an ambassador to the imperial court. "His gentlemen being very many in number, were clothed in livery coats of crimson velvet of the best, with chains of gold about their necks, and his yeomen

* The king, on reading this, swore by St. George the Emperor should not lack.

and all his mean officers were in coats of fine scarlet, guarded with black velvet a hand broad."

The Emperor treated him and his stately suite with imperial liberality, not only sending his officers to provide them everything free of charge; "also the Emperor's officers every night went through the town from house to house, whereat any English gentleman did repast or lodge, and served their liveries for all night, which was done in this manner: First the officers brought into the house a cast of fine manchet, and of silver two great pots with white wine and sugar, to the weight of a pound; white lights and yellow lights, a bowl of silver, with a goblet to drink in, and every night a staff torch."*

A communication that had been addressed by the peacemaker to his sovereign, from Bruges, while ostensibly inducing the Emperor to embrace a conciliatory policy, is worthy of study as a diplomatic lesson in the spirit of "The Prince." It will there be seen that the secret instructions for a league offensive and defensive with the emperor Charles V. against Francis I. were carefully acted upon; and the interest Henry took in this profound specimen of dissimulation is observable in the subsequent letters of Mr. Secretary Pace. We have only space here for a note that puts the king's feelings on the subject beyond a question.

King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey.

"Mine own good Cardinal,—I recommend me unto you with all my heart, and thank you for the great

* Cavendish.

pain and labour that you daily take in my business and matters, desiring you, when you have well established them, to take some pastime and comfort, to the intent you may the longer endure to serve us; for always pain cannot be endured. Surely you have so substantially ordered our matters, both of this side the sea and beyond, that in mine opinion little or nothing can be added. Nevertheless, according to your desire, I do send you mine opinion by the bearer."*

He adds an affectionate message from Queen Katherine, expressing a desire to know when the cardinal intends to return.

Wolsey returned to Calais fully satisfied that he was master of the situation. The tiara, that had long loomed in the distance, now approached so close as to be almost tangible. The negotiation was renewed with increased spirit and more earnest professions of disinterestedness; a plan of accommodation was sent to both the principals, and a pacific settlement was generally looked forward to as a matter of course. The king of France, however, had chosen to make a hostile move, and had captured Fontarabia. Charles somewhat haughtily insisted on its immediate restoration; in much the same spirit, Francis refused. The cardinal, on being referred to, promptly decided against the aggressor, adding his opinion that in such a case the assistance of the king of England was of right due to the Emperor.

On his return home, the cardinal's grandeur

* Holograph in the king's hand. It has been printed several times.

became more conspicuous than ever. Among the more distinguished noblemen of the court, who regarded it with ill feeling, was the high constable, a descendant of the Plantagenets, and a peer of the highest rank and influence. The duke of Buckingham lived in every respect like a prince of the blood, maintained a palatial establishment, and always went abroad surrounded by a magnificent retinue. With his legitimate pretensions of wealth and birth, to be outdone in display by a person of humble origin became intolerable, and he incautiously betrayed his impatience.

The higher nobility in England chafed under the necessity of attending upon the cardinal with the same ceremonies they performed out of respect to emperors and kings. For instance, during the visit of Charles V. at a banquet, the haughty duke of Buckingham had to give the water for ablutions, while the earl of Suffolk was in attendance with the towel. After the Emperor, Henry and Queen Katherine. "Next them did wash the lord cardinal, the queen of France, and the queen of Arragon."*

While the duke held a basin for the king's lavation, the cardinal archbishop, who doubtless seized the opportunity for lowering the great man's pride, after his sovereign had retired, rinsed his hands in the vessel. It so irritated the Plantagenet, that a priest should try to make a domestic of him, that he angrily dashed the water over his shoes. This indignity in turn roused the cardinal, who while expressing his anger threatened to sit upon the duke's skirts. To show his contempt for the

* Stow, "Annals," 510.

menace, and if possible to bring the cardinal into disgrace with his indulgent master, the duke appeared next day at court, arrayed with studied magnificence, but without skirts to his doublet. The singularity attracted general attention. The king desired to know what it meant. The required opportunity presented itself; so the duke declared that it was to prevent the cardinal executing his threat.* The effect of his explanation could not have satisfied the angry nobleman; for Henry had already been made aware that he had been very free in his expressions, respecting not only his chancellor, but himself.

The duke went to one of his estates in the country soon afterwards, where he received notice to return to the court. On his arrival, on the 16th of April, 1521, he was sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason, and was brought to trial at Westminster Hall. It then appeared that he had relied too strongly on his Plantagenet descent, and had made incautious representations as to the superiority of his title to the crown to that of the reigning sovereign. He had also consulted a Carthusian monk of the name of Hopkins, a professor of astrology, respecting the chance of the king's dying without issue; and when a friend of his, Sir William Bulmer, had been committed by the Star Chamber to the Tower, he had been heard to threaten the king's life.† He was found guilty by his peers, and subsequently beheaded.

This tragic event deserves special consideration for several causes. It is the first collision during

* Godwin. † Herbert, "Life of Henry VIII.," 41.

Wolsey's career between the temporal and the spiritual power, and indicates the complete superiority of the cardinal, even when assailed by the most distinguished peer in the kingdom; it is also the first indication in Henry of that relentless spirit that subsequently produced such sanguinary results. The extent to which Wolsey is responsible for this act has not been very clearly defined; but though he has been defended by more than one able historian, it is impossible, with a knowledge of the feud which existed between him and the duke, to acquit him of all share in his death. That share was well understood at the time, and created a profound impression not only throughout England, but on the continent. All royalty, as a matter of course, felt sympathy for a victim of royal lineage and long descent, hunted down, as it was understood, by a creature of yesterday. It has been asserted that the potentate who had hitherto been most eager to secure the cardinal's good offices at any cost, spoke of him in reference to this lamentable affair as "the butcher's dog who had killed the fairest hart in England."*

It should be remembered that the haughtiness of the duke of Buckingham had become as offensive to the king as to his minister. Sir William Fitzwilliam, writing from the French court to Wolsey, mentions the remarks of Francis respecting the duke's incarceration. The cardinal answered, stating the crimes for which he had suffered. What the impressions of Francis were did not transpire; but in England the death of so distinguished a man

* Godwin, 47.

excited feelings of detestation against its supposed author.

One of Wolsey's most important papers is a despatch to the king of unusual length, written about the middle of November, 1521,—a review of foreign and home affairs, strongly recommending a peace. The great subject of consideration now was the expected arrival of the Emperor, when the king of England's declaration of war against the king of France was to be made public.

CHAPTER IV.

ROME AND THE ENGLISH CARDINAL.

Leo X. and Wolsey—Art and Christianity—Improvements at Rome—Irreligion—Danger of the Pope and Cardinals—Meeting of Leo and Francis I.—Papal Policy—Design of destroying Leo—His objectionable Proceedings—Punishment of the Conspirators—Appeal of the Cardinals to the King of England—Luxury in Rome—Leo and his Guests—Latin Poets—Absurd Exhibition—Indulgences—Influence of Luther—Wolsey's presumed Sympathy with the Reformers—Tomfoolery—The Roman Court and the Attacks of Luther—Diet at Nuremberg—Henry VIII.'s Reply to Luther received at Rome—Title conferred on him—Death of Leo—His Character—State of Rome—Failure of Wolsey to secure his Election as Pope—Adrian VI.—Pace, Wolsey's Agent with the Papal Court.

THE interest Wolsey took in what was going on at Rome made him spare neither trouble nor expense to secure accurate intelligence. From the accession of Leo X. his relations with the Roman court grew more and more intimate, and the proceedings of the Pontiff attracted his special attention. These great churchmen possessed points of resemblance in their fondness for display, in their love of literature, in their discrimination of character, in their large views of policy, and in their thorough subjection to worldly influences. This caused Leo to help, notwithstanding his prejudices, in advancing the English prelate, as a sure means of making him

useful, and induced Wolsey to forward the designs of the Pontiff as a direct help to the suggestions of his own ambition.

The active patronage afforded to scholars and philosophers by the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent made his name famous throughout Europe, while his equally enlightened and liberal support of every branch of art caused Rome to be sought as the centre of all that was most attractive in architecture, sculpture, and painting.

It is impossible here to enter fully into the subject of art and literary patronage during this brilliant pontificate, or to do sufficient justice to their influence upon European civilization. This, however, has been done in a work of easy access devoted to the life of this pope.* Though we have not the slightest wish to depreciate his merit in this respect, we cannot help expressing a doubt that such secular pursuits ought to be the distinguishing characteristics of a successor to the Apostles. In his father Lorenzo, or in any of the contemporary princes, a similar ardour would, doubtless, have been most appropriate. It is quite true that the Pontiff might have done worse than encourage genius and scholarship. The question is, did he neglect the interests of religion while surrounding it with evidences of a sensuous luxury? Was the way of life he encouraged in "the patrimony of St. Peter" in the slightest degree apostolic? And did it not challenge those comparisons with the exemplars of the faith, of which he professed to be both the Law and the Gospel, that were among the most conclusive

* Roscoe, "Life and Pontificate of Leo X."

arguments used by the opponents of the Papacy. It is quite true that among the cardinals by whom he was supported were some of the most accomplished scholars of their time; but the recommendations of even a Bembo or a Ximenes never were able to neutralize the attacks of an Ariosto or a Boccaccio. It cannot, however, be forgotten that he encouraged the licentious writings of Bandello, a bishop, and of Aretino, an aspirant for the honours of the Sacred College. Every scholar and every artist may regard the memory of Leo X. with the grateful respect due to a benefactor and a friend; but not a single Christian can regard his career with anything resembling a similar sense of obligation. Surely in the character of a supreme pontiff the Christian aspect should be the first consideration.

The principal churches were filled with ideal representations of Scriptural scenes and characters, executed with singular beauty and skill; though the Italian type of physiognomy appeared where the Jewish should have prevailed. The uneducated classes probably preferred this adaptation, and were not cognizant of more glaring anachronisms. They at once recognized the first person of the Trinity in a tiara and pontifical mantle, and the virgin wife of Joseph the carpenter in the dress and features of a Roman beauty, and were ready to afford them divine honours. Luther, who was opposed to these luxuries in religion, was not insensible to the value of art as an auxiliary, and employed Luis Cranach to illustrate an exposure, written by him, of the profligacy of the Roman ecclesiastics, in the form of a contrast between the doings of Christ and Antichrist.

Under the auspices of this enlightened pontiff, Rome took precedence as the metropolis of a refined civilization. The ablest professors in Greek and Oriental literature gave a world-wide fame to its university; and the genius of painters and sculptors who have never been surpassed, made it renowned among European schools of art. The same sound judgment was exercised in the Pope's appointments to high ecclesiastical honours. The cardinals became distinguished for solid acquirements, and the papal legates were selected from men of ability and worth.

Though this was an incalculable improvement upon the old system, some of its evils were retained, and prominent among these was the employment by the Pontiff of the influence of the Holy See to aggrandise his own kindred. The elevation of his brother to the throne of Naples was sought to be carried out by measures that reflect no credit on his pontificate. The interests of his nephew Lorenzo were to be similarly cared for by the possession of the states of Tuscany, Ferrara, and Urbino. Leo's secret negotiations with the king of France to re-occupy Milan, and help his family to these important acquisitions, are quite in the old system. To the same worldliness of nature may be attributed the absence of sincere devotion which became a general characteristic of Roman society. In the saloons there was evidence of every form of intelligence—but there was no faith: there was genius, scholarship, philosophy—but there was no religion. In the capital of the Christian world, sentiments were openly avowed that would have been silenced in any

humbler professing Catholics by the flames. According to one authority, no one could pretend to be a philosopher unless he attacked the principles of religion. Erasmus, while a visitor at Rome, was shocked by the blasphemies that were there constantly expressed.

While free-thinking was in general favour at head-quarters, thoughts quite as free, as a natural consequence, began to circulate at a distance. In many a monastery far away from the capital, though within its influence, earnest-minded recluses, when intelligence reached them of the state of things at Rome, could scarcely avoid doubting that the institution was realizing its intentions. If it had become lawful for their superiors to ignore their vows and professions, they could not help coming to the conclusion that it must be equally lawful for them to throw off their obligations and pretensions. Spiritual discipline relaxed and ecclesiastical subordination was only loosely maintained. The monk in his solitary cell, during his severe self-mortification and monotonous duties, would ask why he endured such a life while the cardinals and the Pope enjoyed the good things of this world to repletion, and gave themselves no care respecting their prospects in the next.

Leo's negotiations with Francis I., after he had made a successful irruption into Italy, were not more remarkable for honourable dealing than those which had preceded them. The cardinals, who had recently been as much employed on military service as in the pontificate of Alexander and Julius, with less success, were now summoned to attend their

politic sovereign to a conference with the king of France at Bologna. In vain they expressed good reasons for having the interview at Rome; twenty members of the Sacred College and an immense retinue, lay and clerical, had to meet at Viterbo and proceed in state with the Pontiff to the place of conference. They did not go by way of Siena; for the inhabitants sent a deputation praying to be excused the visit, as their provisions were totally inadequate to satisfy such a distinguished company.

Their entrance into Florence was a magnificent ovation, to which the principal Florentine artists materially contributed. Leo, after enjoying a series of sumptuous entertainments here, proceeded to Rome: when about three miles from the sea, between Ostia and Antium, he received the startling intelligence that a band of corsairs had landed close at hand. Pope and cardinals, attendants and guards, rivalled each other in the expedition they used to quit the dangerous vicinity, and the return to Rome of the dignified ecclesiastics very much resembled a race. It was not only a narrow escape for the Church of Rome; there could be no bounds to speculation as to how the carrying off the Pope and his cardinals into slavery might have affected Christendom at such a juncture. The historian Muratori, after relating the incident, cannot refrain from expressing his horror at the anticipation of the consequences, had the corsairs been successful.

At Bologna the people gazed on the brilliant cortége of princes and prelates of the Church, attended by a regiment of papal horse-guards, with

sullen aspects, in remembrance of the harsh proceedings of Pope Julius. Leo prudently forbore to notice the slight, and the magnificence attending his meeting with the king of France and his suite soon erased the unpleasant impression the Bolognese had created.

Francis performed the ceremony exacted from temporal sovereigns, of kissing the Pope's feet on his introduction, and then was permitted to kiss his hand and finally his cheek.

Some of the chivalrous nobles in his suite were not well pleased with this apparent acknowledgment of inferiority, nor would the Most Christian king have made it, could he have foreseen the change in the papal policy, which made the Holy Father his most active enemy. They mutually professed to be the best of friends, and in their subsequent confidential discourse did not fail to canvass their prospect of assistance from the king of England through the friend they had lately secured. Francis was very anxious that Leo should aid him in expelling the Spaniards from Italy; but as his Holiness did not want to see the French masters of Naples, as it would prevent its intended appropriation for a member of his own family, he made ingenious excuses. Nothing, however, could exceed the attentions he showed the king and his principal attendants, amongst whom many valuable presents were lavished. Francis received a cross worth fifteen thousand ducats; and a lady (Marie Gaudin) who accompanied him, a diamond of inestimable value. With entertainments and jewels the French were completely won over. Such excellent Catholics did they become, that they pub-

licly confessed their sin in having fought against the Pope's predecessor, when Leo graciously bestowed on them his benediction. Francis naively excused their hostility by admitting that they had never met a more formidable enemy; concluding with the doubtful compliment that Julius was a much better general than pontiff.*

In this humour Leo found no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the king and his counsellors to an ecclesiastical arrangement. It superseded the Pragmatic Sanction by a concordat, that sacrificed the existing rights of the Gallican Church. The French clergy were indignant at this disposal of their independence, and the French laity regarded with jealousy the accession of influence in ecclesiastical affairs which had purchased the king's sanction to the arrangement. For the time all was *couleur de rose* that could be looked at through the medium of papal generosity, and the Frenchmen returned home to prepare for the war which this conference was to produce.

A strong appeal from the Pope to Henry VIII., in consequence of a successful attempt of the duke of Urbino to recover his duchy, representing that the Holy See was much in need of assistance, and the knowledge that similar applications to other sovereigns had been attended with success, again made Wolsey anxious to serve the Pontiff. Nothing could

* Paris de Grassis, master of the ceremonies to the Pope. See his narrative "De Ingressu Summi Pont. Leonis X. Florentini Descriptio Paridis de Grassis Civis Bononiensis Pisauriensis Episcopi," &c., published by Moreri, and quoted by Roscoe, "Leo X.," Appendix II.

be more apparent to so shrewd a mind than the desire of the parties to the negotiations then pending to deceive each other, as well as the intention of the Pope to delude all in turn. Leo entered into new engagements with the king of France, with the determination of evading them on the first favourable opportunity. He committed a worse act: for having permitted a messenger from the duke of Urbino to travel with a safe-conduct on a mission to himself, he had him carried as a prisoner to Rome, and tortured for the purpose of making him betray his master's friends. The war against the duke was carried on at enormous expense; but the French and Spanish auxiliaries having been commanded to withdraw from his service, he was forced to succumb.

It was during this campaign that Rome was startled by an unexpected but by no means unfamiliar occurrence. Leo had recently deprived Borghese Petrucci of the government of Siena, which appeared to his brother the cardinal an ungrateful return for the assistance he had rendered the Pontiff in securing his election. As the Pope in his anger loses sight of his sacerdotal character, so does the cardinal as completely lose every feeling of a Christian, a gentleman, and a man. Petrucci resolved to slay the Pontiff, in the same open manner as the duke of Urbino had killed the cardinal of Padua; but was deterred from making the attempt by the difficulty of finding a favourable opportunity. Nevertheless, kill him he would; and he resolved on employing the same means for gratifying his revenge that had lately proved successful on Cardinal

Bainbridge. Like Romeo, he sought medical assistance, but with a totally different purpose; and found a willing agent in a Roman surgeon. This man agreed to create an opportunity by becoming a temporary substitute for the regular medical attendant of his Holiness, when his medicines should be made to give a fatal termination to the Pope's indisposition.

Petrucci let fall some imprudent observations, then chose to leave the city for a time; still more unwisely, he entered into a correspondence on the dangerous subject with his secretary, who was left at Rome to see to the completion of his design. Suspicions had already been excited, which these intercepted letters confirmed. At this discovery, Leo X. displayed an amount of treachery as little to be justified as that of his intended assassin. He summoned Petrucci to Rome, pretending to require his personal attendance. The man evincing reluctance, he sent him a safe-conduct, with the most solemn assurances of his safety. The ambassador of the king of Spain, whose advice the cardinal had asked, considered that he might rely on such promises; but no sooner had he, in company with Cardinal de' Sauli, been brought face to face with the Pontiff, than he and his friend were seized and committed to prison.

It was in vain that the Spanish ambassador protested against such a flagrant violation of the law of nations. The Pope caused a circular letter to be sent to the principal sovereigns of Europe (Henry VIII. included*), expressing a Machiavellian defence of his conduct; then, by means of torture, wrung from

* Rymer, "Fœdera," vi. 134.

some of Petrucci's confederates a confession of their guilt. As the evidence thus obtained indicated the collusion of other members of the Sacred College, they were summoned to assemble; but before the appointed day the fears of the Pontiff for his own safety had so increased, that he would not venture to meet them. Cardinal St. Georgio (Raffaelle Riario) was arrested as an accomplice of the two cardinals in prison, and the Consistory dismissed. Leo left the Sacred College for a day or two, to reflect on their position; after this he summoned them into his presence, and addressed them with mingled admonition and reproach.* Then he caused each cardinal to declare on oath whether he had been privy to the late design on his life. Cardinal Soderini at first recklessly committed perjury; but being pressed by the Pope, threw himself at his feet and acknowledged his guilt.

"There is still another traitor," exclaimed the Pontiff, when Cardinal Adrian, whose experience in poison cases must have been superior to that of his colleagues, now he knew that further evasion was hopeless, made a similar confession.

The manner in which Leo X. punished these conspirators was equally at variance with ordinary notions of justice. He promised their return to favour on paying the sum of twenty-five thousand ducats. They raised that sum; but the Pope insisted that it was to be an individual, not a collective payment; and to secure themselves from impoverishment, they fled the city. Cardinal Soderini effected his escape to the protection of Prospero

* Guicciardini, ii. 145.

Colonna. Cardinal Adrian fled for refuge to Venice. The Pope commanded his return, but he preferred the protection of the Signory.* He was well known in England, and had been on intimate terms with Wolsey, who a few months later received a communication from Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, inquiring what arrangements were to be made respecting the then vacant see of Bath.†

Adrian Corneto de Castello, cardinal of St. Crisogonno, was an unfavourable specimen of Princes of the Church, though he could scarcely have been worse than others of the college implicated with him in the transaction we have narrated. The system which had produced them could not have escaped the severest censure even had it professed no religious character; but claiming the moral government of the civilized world, it is impossible to imagine less moral machinery. If the tree may be judged by the fruit, unequivocal condemnation cannot be avoided. The most objectionable feature in this evil produce is, that it was then to a considerable extent cultivated on an English soil at the expense of the Anglican Church. It is a fair subject of congratulation that English cardinals were of a totally different character.

The principals were now to be proceeded against, and as there could be no question of their guilt, their condemnation was a matter of course. The evidence respecting them had been extracted by the rack, and there could be very little doubt that the arbitrary

* See Appendix.

† Bacon (Henry VII.) mentions him in terms of liberal commendation, especially with reference to his learning and prudence.

measures of the Pontiff had excited a feeling of intense hostility against him in several members of the Sacred College. As he took another opportunity for addressing them, and was extremely pathetic on the occasion, it was generally anticipated that he would be content with a good ransom; but on June 20th he degraded the Cardinals Petrucci, de Sauli, and Riario, and having confiscated their property as well as deprived them of their benefices, delivered their bodies over for capital punishment to the civil tribunals.

This extreme course created the greatest excitement in the feelings of the twelve cardinals who attended the consistory, indeed occasioned a tumult amongst them. Such a disgrace to their body could scarcely have been submitted to in silence; nevertheless, the principal culprit was strangled in prison the next night. The brother-in-law of the Pontiff made such urgent entreaties for the life of Cardinal de Sauli, that a money payment was ungraciously substituted. The latter died so soon afterwards as to excite the suspicion that he had met with unfair treatment during his incarceration. Cardinal Riario was also permitted to ransom his life; but so little confidence did he feel in Leo's assurances of favour, that he availed himself of the first opportunity to escape to Naples. An appeal had been made by several Roman dignitaries, lay and clerical, for the interposition of Henry VIII. in favour of this cardinal.*

The angry pontiff shortly afterwards showed his sense of this compliment to England when he

* Rymer, "Fœdera," vi. 134.

appointed no less than thirty-one new cardinals, in which creation the claims of English prelates were passed over. So extraordinary a measure was had recourse to partly to neutralize the hostility of the Sacred College, and partly to supply the impoverished papal treasury, to which every one thus honoured was expected to contribute liberally; a considerable majority were his own relatives and personal friends. This arrangement for his safety did not content him, for he employed guards for the protection of his person, even when engaged in the holy ceremonies of the Church.

Leo now sought to secure the allegiance of the malcontents, and the devotion of his friends in the College of Cardinals, by a series of sumptuous entertainments unequalled even in Rome. The arts of luxury had been encouraged by him with such liberality, that the pontifical palace had become a gallery of painting and sculpture, that challenged comparison in richness and beauty with the stateliest structures in Europe.

The walls were decorated with designs by Raffaelle and his assistants, and the apartments enriched with decorative furniture of every description, executed with corresponding taste. The saloons, thus attractive, were thrown open to a large circle of guests, that included the intellectual section of Roman society in a proportion never found there previously—poets and painters, sculptors and architects, were as handsomely entertained as the primates and nobles who shared such profuse hospitality; while the higher prelates of the Church were encouraged in a career of expenditure that left the

extravagance of former pontificates very far in the background. It appeared as if the Supreme Pontiff was emulating the fame of a Sardanapalus, and that one sentiment prevailed in Rome, which expressed itself in his famous declaration, "Eat, drink, and be merry; all the rest's not worth a fillip."

The Vatican, or pontifical palace, was a structure on which the highest genius in design and decoration had been lavished. The walls of the *loggie* were embellished with marvels of pictorial skill from the hand of the greatest painter in the world; but it was in the banqueting-chamber where the triumphs of his pencil appeared most conspicuously. A classical taste combined with a richness of composition unknown in antique art met the eye in every direction. From ceiling and from walls figures presented themselves in wonderful variety and contrast; but the most surprising efforts of skill were life-like representations of the various wild animals that had been sent to the Pontiff as presents. Raffaelle had been assisted by his pupils, Giulio Romano ("il Fattore"), Pellegrino del Vago, Bagnacevello, Gemignano, and Giovanni Udine. The figures were surrounded by arabesque ornamentation in a style that excelled the best existing models.

The saloon, which opened into one of the galleries or *loggie*, was furnished most sumptuously: cabinets unrivalled for artistic workmanship, couches, candelabras, gold plate of incomparable design, mingled with enamel and plastic ware equally artistic and almost as costly. A table in the centre, with a matchless specimen of napery, contained rare examples of cut crystal, of carved ivory, and of jewelled

goldsmith's work, as glasses, tankards, dishes, and other festal vessels; and under massive covers were delicacies provided with a corresponding regardlessness of cost.

Seated on velvet cushions might have been seen, round that handsomely furnished table, the guests the luxurious pontiff delighted to honour or to ridicule. The papal Heliogabalus was alway distinguishable among the group, not more by the pontifical costume than by his dignified person; his tall figure and large face, the latter radiant with the spirit of good-fellowship, sufficiently pointed him out, without any reference to the respect paid him by the superbly-clad attendants—not forgetting the careful Crassus, the most conscientious master of the ceremonies pope ever had—or the throne of estate at which he sat at the head of the table.

Near him was his kinsman Giulio, already one of the richest of the cardinals. He had contrived to amass wealth as rapidly as Leo had dissipated it; for the papal expenditure could now only be maintained by pledging and borrowing. With him the Pope is engaged in an animated conversation—not concerning the poverty of the papal exchequer, or the troubles of the Apostolic Church, for care was a stranger to that serene brow; more probably on a capital day's sport his Holiness had had a day or two before in the neighbourhood of his favourite villa.

The Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, on the opposite side of the table, was giving an account to Cardinal Innocenzio, one of the Pope's nephews, of the wonderful illustrations of the story of Galatea and of Cupid and Psyche with which the court painter had

adorned the house of a Roman merchant, Agostino Chigi; and the two Princes of the Church, after expending their classic and æsthetic raptures, lamented that the prospect of marrying a cardinal's daughter, and, in due course, of becoming a cardinal, could not induce the matchless painter to give up his humble mistress, "la Fornarina."

Lower down the hospitable board sat the illustrious papal gossip Bernardo da Bibbiena, entertaining a group of apparently equally communicative members of the Sacred College with a grand scandal affecting the character of a lady of their acquaintance; and it might have been observed, by the close grouping of the exalted heads, that there was unusual interest in the story. But the voice of the host is heard, and the sharers of the piquant secret return to the enjoyment of the extremely good things before them. They were disturbed by directions which brought forward a Spanish gentleman waiting in the background, one Gabriel Merino, who commenced singing, in a voice of remarkable sweetness, a melody of a devotional character. The Pontiff listened with the discrimination of a connoisseur, while the cardinals, who neither possessed his taste nor his knowledge, appeared equally charmed. At the conclusion of the performance, the vocalist was called up to the pontifical chair, where having performed the usual homage, he was honoured with a generous recompense,—the fortunate musician was created an archbishop.

Cardinal Bembo, the pontifical secretary, was making a mental note of the occurrence for future use, when again the sonorous voice of the lord of

the feast was heard, which at once put the guests on the *qui vive*. Distributed among their patrons were certain civilians somewhat extravagantly dressed in the prevailing fashion. There was no mistaking their vocations or their pretensions: they had generally a pedantic look and an affected manner. The distinction of having been thought worthy of an invitation from the Pontiff, in more than one instance filled them with self-conceit that would have made them insufferable had it not afforded host and guests unfailing amusement. They were a sort of *improvvisatori* in Latin verse, possessing little scholarship and not a spark of genius.

The sovereigns of Europe generally maintained one fool in their establishment, but Leo X. insisted on having a company—and their exhibitions of absurdity formed his chief source of amusement. His Holiness had called to the attendants to supply certain of these poetical pretenders with "the delicacies of the season," which, as he named them, would have startled an Apicius. The favoured individual was immediately served with unicorn's sweetbread, a griffin cutlet, a fricassee of nightingales' tongues, peacock sausages, or something equally novel; and no small gratification was exhibited by those in the secret while observing the intense enjoyment the highly-seasoned dish afforded such as partook of it. One after another these choice and unheard-of efforts of the papal *cuisine* were pressed upon the Latin poets, and much strong wine was required to allay the heat they created. When their gluttony was satisfied, they were called upon individually to recite an impromptu effusion.

The Supreme Pontiff and several of his cardinals were profound scholars, and the exposure of ignorance and incapacity that followed when a candidate for poetic honours stood up and commenced a recitation, must to them have been extremely amusing. It was a well-known and strictly observed law amongst the revellers, that blunders were punishable on the spot; therefore he who broke Priscian's head stood a good chance of getting a fracture of his own; for on the instant of a fault in grammar or versification, up jumped the rigid censors, and belaboured the offender with all their strength. No careless schoolboy ever got worse used for shortcomings in nonsense verses than did these gorged and half-tipsy pretenders to scholarship. His Holiness would roar with laughter at the edifying sight of half a dozen Princes of the Church inflicting castigation on the person of an ignorant pedant; and the louder he remonstrated against his punishment, the louder became the shouts of mirth the fun elicited.

A large and important element of Roman society at this time was the feminine. When Leo X. passed through the rejoicing city after his election, certain poetic declarations displayed by some of the inhabitants betrayed their knowledge of his predilections. His preference for beauty did not confine itself to artistic objects, and much scandal arose as this became more conspicuous, however decorously veiled. The same feeling diffused itself over the art and literature he encouraged, in which a bright surface of sentiment sought to conceal the sensuality beneath. In the exquisite features of an in-

comparable Madonna it was easy to recognize the mistress of the artist; and the favourite subjects of the most admired poets were eminently profane.*

Such unclerical enjoyments as the pleasures of the chase, as well as those of the table, distinguished Leo's daily life. Hunting, hawking, and fishing drew him frequently into the country; and when he returned for the winter season to his capital, theatrical amusements, banquets, and other social entertainments helped to make his time pass pleasantly. Though this kind of existence was kept up with the most careful decorum, it could not be disguised from keen observation that it was the existence of a temporal, not of a spiritual, prince; and all the Pontiff's *bonhomie* and all his generosity, failed to conceal the equally obvious fact, that he could be selfish, cruel, and false.

His career of self-indulgence wasted the pontifical revenues, and Leo was obliged to have recourse to one of the worst of the bad sources whence his predecessors had derived a large part of their incomes,—the sale of indulgences. The religious world, however, had for some time past been growing more and more insensible to the allurements of such a traffic; and churchmen were found denouncing the rascality of those who dealt in them. The pleasure-seekers in Rome had now a little variety added to their recreations while discussing the audacity of a German monk who had ventured to question the propriety of obtaining money in this way. The good-natured Pontiff and his merry companions of the Sacred College

* See Sanazzaro's "De Partu Virginis," and Francastero's "Syphillis."

appear to have regarded it at first as a Teutonic joke. They had sanctioned a sermon in which the Pope was represented as Jove and the Virgin as Diana;* why should they take any notice of an obscure recluse in a foreign land, who had preached against a particular feature in papal finance? They had also attended a representation of Plautus, with a charitable disregard of the heathenism of the performance.

Presently intelligence reached the Roman court that Wittemberg was astir with the denunciations against indulgences of this reckless Augustine, and that the impression he had created was extending to the neighbouring cities. A little inquiry established the fact that he was a young doctor of theology; but as the cardinals were aware that the elector of Mentz had a share in the profits arising from the impost, and that Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was his principal collector, they left him to be silenced by them.

A short interval elapsed, and all Germany appeared to be ringing with the attacks of the Wittemberg preacher. In vain was he abused by advocate after advocate of the Apostolic Church; innumerable friends supported him, and he had dared to declare that the writings against him were the work of the devil, and that if their authors were encouraged by the Pope and cardinals, Rome must have become the seat of Antchrist.

Such extremely plain speaking was evidently very popular in Germany, though little to the taste of the ruling powers in Rome; but the Pope contented himself with writing to the vicar-general of the

* Erasmus was present at its delivery.

Augustines, recommending a little admonition. This produced no effect, and shortly so great became the excitement in the German mind, caused by the daring attacks of the Wittemberg monk, that Maximilian, in a diet held at Augsburg in 1518, had desired that measures should be taken for their suppression, and had written to the Pope promising his co-operation in any proceeding he might take with that object.

Leo and the Sacred College had at last been stirred into activity. All their innocent pleasures, all their classic enjoyments, all their artistic gratifications had been marred by the conduct of this obtrusive monk. Homer and Raffaelle were equally neglected; Apollo and Venus were thrust into the background; there was but one name to which they were permitted to direct their attention; morning, noon, and night it was repeated with the most offensive opinions—that name was Luther, and these opinions were heresies of a most obnoxious character. The offender was cited, August 7th, 1518, to appear at Rome within sixty days, to defend himself; but the Pope sent directions to the Cardinal de Gaeta, then acting as legate at the court of the emperor elect, to detain the troublesome monk, as well as wrote a letter to Luther's patron, the elector of Saxony, requesting his assistance in having him sent to Rome, professing a desire to treat the case with leniency.

It so chanced, however, that the audacious young doctor proved himself more than a match for the cardinal and his patron; and the elector would not sanction any attempt to punish him without proof

of his having promulgated heretical doctrines. Leo was obliged to issue a bull, insisting on the legality of indulgences, and Luther, more contumacious than ever, answered by declaring his intention to appeal to a general council. The court of Rome were startled by this bold step, and were evidently at a loss how to meet the difficulty. The doctrines of the reformer became more irritating, the more plainly they threatened a revolution in the Church system. Never before had a heretic made himself so formidable; for his ability had become as conspicuous as his influence, and the printing-press soon made his writings familiar to religious readers in various countries. His example was followed by other earnest-minded Catholics, and similar doctrines openly adopted in France and England. Scholars of all nations appear to have given them a favourable consideration. The fact was, that by the advancing intelligence of Europe the Church of Rome began to be regarded with distrust—the profession and the practice were compared, and the necessity of a reformation became patent.

With no common interest Wolsey watched the conflict between the bold monk and the indolent pontiff; but though well aware of the abuses that existed in the Church, and the great evils of the Roman system, he carefully refrained from expressing any sympathy with the popular movement against them. He was looking to Rome for further advancement, and was extremely desirous of keeping up a good understanding with Leo and the Roman curia. He therefore as publicly as possible condemned the heterodox doctrines of the Wittemberg preacher, that

were attracting attention throughout Christendom. Nevertheless, he seems to have made himself acquainted with the state of public feeling in England, and where anti-papal doctrines were professed, did not distinguish himself by any vigorous measures for their suppression. He gave the Pope a gratifying proof of his influence by encouraging the king to come forward as his advocate—then anxiously waited events.

Though Luther had become a bugbear to the lovers of pleasure in the Roman capital, the annoyance caused by his proceedings did not spoil their sport. Pope and cardinals went on with their recreations, some of which, it must be confessed, exhibited a near approach to tomfoolery. They drank and ate and laughed to excess. Camillo Querno had perpetrated an epic of twenty thousand verses, passages from which he was induced to recite, accompanied by the lyre; for this he was honoured with the title of arch-poet, and received a mock crown, made up of vine, laurel, and *cabbage*-leaves. The abbot Barabollo, another poetic pretender, was decreed a public triumph, and excited the ridicule of all Rome clothed in antique Roman costume, perched on the back of an elephant, and paraded from the Vatican to the bridge of St. Angelo. This frolic the Supreme Pontiff thought worthy of commemoration, and it was elaborately carved in wood, for the decoration of one of his apartments.*

Nero is said to have fiddled when Rome was burning; but while a conflagration, quite as de-

* Roscoe, "Leo X.," chapter xvii.

structive to Roman institutions was threatening, the conscript fathers of the Sacred College, encouraged by the Pontifex Maximus, were rivalling each other in demonstrations quite as undignified and inappropriate. The fire was far off; they might amuse themselves with perfect safety. But Maximilian died, who could have stamped it out; and the elector, Frederick of Saxony, encouraged the flame. The sparks flew about, and seemed to fall upon tinder, where it was secretly breathed upon till it burst into another blaze.

The Pontiff, though alarmed, strove to temporize. A public disputation had taken place at Leipsic, in which Luther and his supporters, if they did not secure a victory, obtained a publicity for their opinions, which proved extremely damaging to the system they attacked; and every feeble denunciation at Rome was replied to by assaults that exceeded each other in violence. At last, in a communication addressed to the Pope, April, 1520, the Reformer denounced the state of things flourishing under the papal auspices, in language that must have swept over the pleasure-seekers like the blast of a sirocco.

"For what," he demanded, "has Rome poured out for many years (as must be well known to you) but desolation of body and soul, and the worst examples of every iniquity? It is, in truth, as clear as daylight, to all the world, that the Roman Church, once the most holy, has become a den of the most licentious of robbers—the most shameless of brothels—the kingdom of sin, of death, and of hell—the wickedness of which not even Antichrist himself could imagine."

The sparks were now flying around them, and the court of Rome began to think that it behoved them to look to their safety. That there should be no mistake on this point, the incendiary in the same document, stated that there were only three or four exceptions among the cardinals to the monsters he had denounced, who would sooner submit to perish by poison than attempt a remedy to the evils by which they were surrounded. He then announces that their fate is decreed, and concludes with expressions of most stinging contempt for the pontifical authority.

Leo was disinclined to enter into a contest with so daring an opponent; but the insulted prelates insisted on his exercising his authority to put down the arch-heretic, and crush him under foot. The Roman cardinals, as if singed by the flames which had thus been kindled, became too much in earnest to encourage more nonsense. They awoke to the consciousness that they were on the eve of a life-or-death struggle. A bull was at once prepared, that prohibited inflammatory preaching and writing. In tenour it was mild, and apparently conciliatory, though threatening excommunication to all who opposed its publication. Luther replied in a more scorching spirit upon Pope and cardinals, and publicly burnt the bull at Wittemberg, 15th of December, 1520; while in a sermon that followed this offensive demonstration, he declared that the papal see deserved the same fate. The example of daring proved contagious, and in other important German cities it was repeated.

The principal potentates in Europe were now

earnestly appealed to by both parties, and Charles V. in reply summoned a diet of the empire to meet at Nuremberg in the following January. When the arguments of a clever advocate, sent from Rome for the purpose, had caused the Diet to judge the case, they cited Luther to appear before them. He went, and his journey was a continued ovation; but as he could not be induced to make any retractation of his opinions when before the assembly, he was hissed and groaned at by the Spanish ecclesiastics there present. Charles V. addressed the Diet in condemnation of Luther; but a large section of the assembly appeared to favour him. Attempts at conciliation were again made, but the reformer stood his ground, asserting that if his undertaking were the work of God, it could not be overthrown. Charles sent him notice to quit his dominions within twenty days, and he left for Wittemberg; but on his way his friend, the elector of Saxony, had him conveyed to one of his castles to secure his safety: for his enemies had prevailed, and the diet had published a decree that would have ended his career at once, could his person have been secured.

The Pope and cardinals felt now a little more at their ease; the conflagration apparently had burnt out, and they might return to their harmless recreations. Testimonials of earnest and respectful sympathy from the more influential potentates of Europe, greatly assisted in restoring the equanimity of Leo and the papal court; but they were most delighted by the intelligence that the king of England had become a controversialist on their side, and had sent an

ambassador to his Holiness to present a copy of a certain work he had written. A full consistory immediately assembled, over which Leo presided; then the king's envoy was admitted. After a complimentary oration in Latin, to which the Pope replied in similar terms, in the same language, the king of England's vindication of the seven sacraments, dedicated to the Supreme Pontiff, was presented to him as a mark of friendship and devotion. He was extremely gratified, and his feelings were shared by the august assembly.

Some difference of opinion, however, was manifested as to the manner in which the compliment was to be acknowledged. Plenary indulgence was granted to all the faithful who would read the book. His Holiness was for giving the author the title of "Defender of the Faith," but some of the cardinals suggested that as the sovereigns of France were distinguished as "the Most Christian" kings, those of England should henceforth be styled "the Apostolic;" others were in favour of "the Orthodox," and there were advocates of "the Faithful," and even of "the Angelic." Leo, however, had received a communication from Cardinal Wolsey, and was aware of what the king desired. The theological champion was therefore acknowledged, and his title conferred; and, notwithstanding subsequent shortcomings, it has been retained with the royal titles, and amongst them keeps its place to the present day. The incident created quite a sensation in the court of Rome, and the royal MS. circulated among its members, exciting the utmost admiration; it was then placed in the library of the Vatican, where it

has ever since been exhibited to English travellers as one of its most precious treasures.*

Leo X., by his classical predilections, earned for himself the title of "the heathen Pope." Compared with some of his immediate predecessors, Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI., he becomes illustrious—at least as a sovereign; but as a shepherd of souls, his fabrication of promissory notes on Heaven for every kind of sin, to be obtained at a price that increased with the amount of wickedness each was issued to absolve, must remain a lasting reproach on his memory among real Christians. It is quite true that he was not the inventor of this financial expedient, nor can it be denied that the papal treasury had been completely drained by his architectural and other artistic expenditure; but he sanctioned the issue with a full knowledge that such things were entirely worthless.

Leo X. is represented by Dr. Zorni, ambassador from Venice to Rome, as learned in the classics as well as in canon law, and as an admirable musician. He was prodigal in gifts to persons of merit who

* Juan Manuel writes, 17th October, 1521,—"The king of England has sent a book against Martin Luther to the Pope. It is said that all the learned men of England have taken part in its composition. He hears that it is a good book. The Pope has given to the king of England the title of 'Defender of the Christian Faith.' This title prejudices no one, as all Christian princes are or ought to be defenders of the faith." *Written on the margin by Gattinara* :—"It is true that all princes ought to be defenders of the Christian faith. As, however, this title has been given to the king of England, it makes it seem as if he deserved it more than others, and as if other princes do not defend the faith as well as he does."—"Archives of Simancas," ii. 381.

endeavoured to entertain him, giving a hundred ducats and more to any one whom he selected to sing with him. The papal revenues had now amounted to 420,000 ducats annually, of which 40,000 were derived from vacancies. From another Venetian ambassador, Marco Minio, we learn that he had three principal sources of income, the annates producing 100,000 ducats annually, though half those drawn from bishops and abbots belonged to the cardinals. He is said never to have money, because always giving it away. Leo began his rule in prodigious favour with the Romans, to whom he promised exemption from imposts, and the monopoly of all benefices and offices within the city.

During his pontificate the cardinals are stated to have flourished in extraordinary power and opulence, Giulio de' Medici being the wealthiest. Leo is described by the ambassador Gradenigo as a great promiser and a great borrower, pledging the most sacred property whenever he was in want of money. He left the papal exchequer so completely exhausted that in his funeral the authorities were obliged to use the tapers that had been provided for the obsequies of a cardinal (St. Georgio) who had recently died. These ambassadors, though excellent Catholics, do not seem to have been very ardent admirers either of the Pope or of the Papacy; but there can be little doubt that the information they conveyed to their Senate was for the most part trustworthy.*

The closing year of Leo's government was rendered remarkable by a renewal of ambitious schemes directed against Francis I. and the duke of Urbino.

* "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

Rome became animated with manifestations of martial ardour, and the cardinals were again in requisition as military administrators and commanders. Large bodies of Swiss were enticed to sell their lives in this quarrel, and a sanguinary war again raged in Italy. Wolsey regarded the progress of the campaign with a twofold interest, as it affected the policy he was directing as the king of England's chief counsellor, and his interests as an aspirant for the chair of St. Peter, at the demise of its occupant. Success attended the papal arms; Parma and Piacenza were once more incorporated with the Holy See, and the French driven out of Milan. Congratulations were in preparation when the cardinal received intelligence of an event which demanded his exclusive attention.

The Emperor having separately entered into arrangements with Rome and with England, desired to combine two treaties in one, but met with no slight difficulty in the mutual distrust of Wolsey and the Pope. A triple alliance was at last effected; but two important events happened at Rome about the time the instrument was duly signed: one was the reception of King Henry's attack upon Luther, which appears to have done much in the way of reconciling the Pope to the obnoxious minister, who was supposed to have assisted in its authorship; the other was the news that Leo had taken something deleterious, followed, a few days later, by the intelligence of his death.

On the 27th of November, 1521, he was taken ill. On the 1st of December he was dead. On a *post-mortem* examination there were indications of poison. Leo had governed the Apostolic Church eight years

eight months and twenty days, and had not yet completed his forty-sixth year. He had exercised the duties of his pontificate with extraordinary grandeur, and for sagacity and munificence never had been excelled. The measures he was obliged to adopt to maintain his enlightened patronage of art and literature had been used by many of his predecessors for far less worthy purposes. From the Roman cardinals he deserved a better fate.

Notwithstanding his constant endeavours to render himself popular at Rome, not only had he been the object of a conspiracy among his council to get rid of him by the most expeditious means; but he died under circumstances that have induced several writers to express an opinion that such means were employed. Nothing, however, shows so completely the hollowness of the admiration his entertainments excited at the time, as the lampoons against him published soon after his death. The very men whom he had ennobled and enriched are said to have debated whether the acts of his pontificate should not be erased from the papal records.* No inquiry was made into the cause of his brief illness. He died so suddenly that the last sacraments could not be administered; but the cardinals having decreed him a pompous funeral, proceeded to elect as his successor the most complete contrast to him they could find in the conclave.

Some of the biographers of Leo X. have given him credit for qualities not easily reconcilable with characteristics recorded by other authorities. They state that he was himself abstemious, though he

* Valerianus, "De Liberator Infel."

encouraged gluttony in his guests; that he was exemplary in all religious and moral observances, though his favourite authors were profane and indecent; that he availed himself of every opportunity for promoting mental improvement among his associates, yet relished nothing so much as exhibitions of buffoonery; that he was, beyond all popes, an example of generosity and benevolence, yet rivalled some of the worst in the dishonourable measures he employed when seeking wealth or possessions to which he had no legal claim. Such contradictions are not to be found in any of the acknowledged models of virtue and piety whose lives are the best and brightest evidences of a truly Catholic faith.

The state of the capital of the Christian world at this unexpected but not uncommon event, was that of a city preparing for a siege; every palace was a fortress, every mansion held a garrison. The nobles were collecting soldiers, arms, and ammunition; and the prelates were quite as active in preparing for offence or defence. The cardinals were pursuing their usual intrigues on such a contingency, with this difference, that each aspired to the tiara. Every one possessed of influence of any kind was trying to make a market of it, lying without limit to enhance its value, and denouncing and ridiculing all who proffered other influence likely to find a purchaser. The Emperor's agent, Juan Manuel, appears to have been disgusted with the avarice and mendacity that existed everywhere.

After the demise of Leo, he reported to his government, 11th December, 1521: "Rome is quiet. The

streets and houses are full of armed men and of artillery. I went to the houses of all the cardinals, I and my followers being armed only with swords, although my house contains a considerable number of well-armed soldiers. Cardinals, and others who are not cardinals, are constantly coming to my house to confer with me. They ask me who is to be the imperial candidate for the papal throne. I have to contend with two great difficulties—the one is, that I have no experience of the intrigues of a papal election, and the other is, that it is repugnant to my nature to stoop to such means as must necessarily be employed; for all is founded on avarice and lies."* It was not till the fifth scrutiny that Wolsey's name appeared among the candidates; he is last on the list but four, and they have but one vote less.

On intelligence reaching him of the death of Leo X., the cardinal lost not a moment in endeavouring to secure his election to the vacancy by every means at his disposal. The most skilful of diplomatists, Secretary Pace, was sent to Rome to employ unsparingly the aids to success in use there on such occasions; and the king wrote a letter to the Emperor requesting him to fulfil his promise in favour of his faithful counsellor. It is doubtful if Charles had any such intention, though assurances of his influence had been repeated on more than one occasion. Be this as it may, before Pace could enter upon his duties, the succession had been decided; moreover, decided unanimously in favour of the Emperor's tutor, the bishop of Tortosa, at this period viceroy of Spain.

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 383.

It has been asserted on good authority that it was quite a chance conclusion ;* but the entire affair bears the aspect of pre-arrangement.

There were twenty-nine candidates among the electoral body, according to eleven scrutinies made during the election. On one of these, 3rd of January, 1522, Wolsey had seven votes when the Cardinal Volterra had twelve. These had been purchased by his agent; for the Emperor never did anything in his behalf, and had never intended to do anything. Finding his chance desperate, the conclave gave him up. It has been stated that he had considerable support at each scrutiny: but the despatches of Juan Manuel, who had the management of the election for his imperial master, negative this completely. The proceedings show not only how secular a spirit predominated, but how intensely secular it was. As the Spanish envoy describes it: "There cannot be so much hatred and so many devils in hell as among these cardinals."†

When Wolsey heard the general disgust created by the mean spirit of the new pontiff, he ought to have felt revenged; but when he ascertained the vile manner in which the Pope suffered himself to be influenced, he must have easily reconciled himself to his failure. Depraved as the court of Rome had long been, it never descended to so infamous a degradation as that to which it sunk in the pontificate of Adrian VI. The sense of disgrace inflicted on Christendom by his elevation was evinced by both the Emperor and the king of France. "Maximus Simulator" became his general

* Lingard, v. 83. † "Archives of Simancas."

title. Charles reminded him that he might again become a simple curate of St. Peter; while Francis contemptuously styled him the schoolmaster, and for some time pointedly refused to give him his papal dignity. He was equally avaricious and revengeful, and was an intense hater—particularly of Luther and the promoters of the Reformation.*

Pace, while employed as Wolsey's confidential agent, went to Venice after the election of Adrian. He appears to have been much liked as a negotiator, and by his sociable qualities obtained from the Emperor, as well as from the republic, a welcome addition to his salary. It is curious to see the two extremes—imperial and republican government—meeting in the exercise of corrupt influence; the practice, however, had become general. Ambassadors had come to be regarded as accessible to bribes for their good offices; and, as we have already shown, Charles had employed retainers on English statesmen before; while the merchant princes and their doge, as may be seen by their decrees, made a regular system of bribing every one capable of doing them service.†

While Pace was at Venice, he acted in a manner that brought him into disgrace with Wolsey, and lost his employment. On returning home he had a private interview with Henry, whom he endeavoured to prejudice against his patron; but not only did the powerful minister satisfy his sovereign respecting his conduct, but had his subordinate sent to the Tower. Pace had previously exhibited signs of a disturbed mind, and now became completely insane. He was

* "Archives of Simancas." † "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

liberated after two years' confinement, but never quite recovered his intellect. He wrote many works; among them a translation of Plutarch's text into Latin, "De Commodo ex Inimicis capiendo," which he dedicated to the cardinal.*

The death of Leo X. had terminated the triple alliance, and produced a necessity for more negotiations, to be followed by other treaties between the Emperor and the king of England. Wolsey's genius for diplomacy was again in full operation, but Charles seems to have entertained great faith in his personal interposition.

* "Athenæ Oxonienses," i. 66.

CHAPTER V.

THOMAS WOLSEY CARDINAL LEGATE.

The Cardinal in public—Sir Thomas More's Opinion of him—Going to Court—His Public Condemnation of Luther—Disappointed by the result of the Papal Election—Wolsey's Negotiations—Second visit of the Emperor—His Reception and Entertainment—The Treaty with Spain—Venice—Conquest of French territory—Adrian VI. a Participator in the War against France—Wolsey's Duties as Chancellor—Financial Difficulties—The Loan for the King—Interview with the Merchants of London—The Civic Authorities—The Clergy—Meeting of Parliament—Wolsey's Address—Sir Thomas More—Scene in the House of Commons—Unpopularity of the Cardinal—Wolsey again a Candidate for the Tiara—His Second Failure—Increase in his Legatine Powers.

IN his appearance and demeanour to others, Cardinal Wolsey continued to maintain a stateliness which could not have fallen far short of that of a sovereign prince.

"He came out of his privy chamber about eight of the clock, apparelled all in red; that is to say, his upper garment was either of fine scarlet or taffety; but most commonly of fine crimson satin engrained; his pillion of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with black velvet, and a tippet of sables about his neck, holding in his hand an orange, whereof the meal or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar, and other confections

against the pestilent airs; the which he most commonly held to his nose when he came among any press, or else that he was pestered with any suitors.

"And before him was borne first the broad seal of England, and his cardinal's hat, by a lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnly. And as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there were daily attending upon him as well noblemen of this realm, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of his own family, his two great crosses were there attending, to be borne before him. Then, cried the gentlemen ushers [of whom the writer was one], going before him bareheaded, 'On before, my lords and masters! On before! And make way for my lord cardinal!'" *

Then he went through the hall, preceded by a sergeant-of-arms, bearing a great silver mace, with two gentlemen carrying two great silver pillars, till he arrived at the hall door, where his white mule stood caparisoned in crimson velvet and saddle, and gilt stirrups. He mounted and proceeded, attended by his cross and pillar-bearers, their horses decorated with scarlet trappings, followed by noblemen and gentlemen, as well as four footmen, bearing gilt poleaxes, till he reached the door of Westminster Hall, where he alighted, and proceeded to the Star Chamber or the Chancery.

This magnificence was not displayed without exciting some sharp comments. Roy, a contemporary satirist, thus denounced it:—

* Cavendish.

"With worldly pomp incredible,
Before him redeth two priests strong,
And they bear two crosses right long,
Gaping in every man's face.
After them follow two laymen secular,
And each of them holding a pillar
In their hands, stead of a mace.
Then followeth my lord on his mule,
Trapped with gold.
Then hath he servants, five or six score,
Some behind and some before."*

Although Sir Thomas More was a zealous Catholic, he entertained a strong prejudice against Wolsey, as may be seen in a passage in one of his works representing him as inordinately fond of flattery.† Lawyers could not reconcile themselves to a clerical lord chancellor. But even members of his own profession dilated in the pulpit on his excessive stateliness. When the cardinal heard that Dr. Barnes had attacked him in this way, he sent for the preacher; but instead of punishing him as he might have done, entered goodnaturedly into a discussion and defended the things upon which the doctor had animadverted.‡

That Wolsey was partial to such exaggerated grandeur cannot be denied; but he followed many ecclesiastical precedents. Excessive luxury had long been a feature in the mode of living of wealthy prelates. The pride which rendered him detested by some of the English nobility, he seems to have assumed defiantly. Knowing the feeling

* "Harleian Miscellany," ix. 1.

† "Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation," More's Works, 1221.

‡ Barnes's Works, 210.

with which he was regarded by some of them, he chose to treat their messengers with a degree of carelessness that gave masters and servants equal annoyance.

A servant of the earl of Shrewsbury complains bitterly to his lord of this neglect. He went to Guildford to deliver a message from the earl, but could get no answer from the cardinal; he followed him to Hampton Court, and having found him in the park, requested to learn his pleasure respecting his lord's business; but was censured for interrupting his meditations. He delivered a letter to the cardinal a day or two afterwards; but receiving no attention, went away. He states that Lord Dacre's servant, as well as a domestic of the deputy of Calais, remained in waiting for five months, getting the only answer from the great man, "If ye be not content to tarry my leisure, depart when ye will."*

There can be no doubt that the enormous amount of business, temporal and spiritual, Wolsey had to get through, left him little time to attend to his numerous applicants on affairs of less interest. We must also make some allowance for the exaggerations of domestics under the impression that their masters were suffering indignity.

Thomas Allen appears to have been a little out of temper when he wrote this account of his abortive attempt to interest the cardinal in a lawsuit the earl of Shrewsbury then had pending. He had written in a different spirit on the 8th of June, 1517:—

"My Lord,—As far as I can hear, your Lordship

* Lodge, "Illustrations of British History," i. 28.

is much beholden to my Lord Cardinal for his loving words, and that marvellously now of late days, since the variance was between his Grace and Sir Henry M——ny. I beseech Almighty God, your Lordship may find him indeed that, notwithstanding. And if your Lordship come up, I fear me ye are not like to depart hence betwixt this and Christmas. Upon Thursday last, my Lord Cardinal sent unto me the King's letter, directed to your Lordship, which this bearer hath to deliver. Yesterday Master Sale and I spake with my Lord Cardinal at good leisure, and showed his Grace like as your Lordship commanded me in your letters, and also in this last letter. He answered and said, 'The King's pleasure is to have my Lord here, and nigh about him,' and I would advise my Lord also, if he may labour, to come up."

In another communication he tells his lord: "Every day this week I have been in my Lord Cardinal his sight, and yet his Grace speaks nothing thereof to me, and as Master Comptroller showeth me, his Grace bears you marvellous great favour, and as I have heard by divers others, his Grace hath spoken of late days many loving words towards your Lordship."*

Wolsey's style of going to court was equally magnificent,—embarking in his barge at his own stairs, with his splendid retinue, and landing at the "Three Cranes," in the Vintry; thence riding on his mule, surrounded by the same emblems of state that accompanied him to Westminster, in a procession which proceeded along Thames Street, to

* Lodge, "Illustrations of British History," i. 22.

Billingsgate, where he again entered his barge, and was rowed to the royal palace at Greenwich. Here he was received by the chief officers of the king's household bearing their white staves, who escorted him to the presence chamber, while he left his crosses and pillars standing on one side of the cloth of estate. After dinner among the lords and a conference with the king, he would take his departure with the same stateliness.

It became imperative that Wolsey should play a prominent part in the condemnation of the German reformer; and on the 12th of May, 1521, he presided at a convocation of the principal prelates held at St. Paul's. Having been incensed by the dean (Pace), four doctors held over his head a state canopy of cloth of gold, under which he walked to the high altar, where he made his offering; then a grand ecclesiastical procession was formed, and in it, preceded by his two cross-bearers, he walked to a throne raised by St. Paul's Cross, near which a scaffold had been erected. The cardinal, seated under his canopy, had at his feet the papal ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury on his right; and the imperial ambassador, with the bishop of Durham, on his left—the other prelates sitting on benches—while the bishop of Rochester preached a sermon denouncing Luther and his writings, and pronouncing accursed all who possessed them. A fire was kindled, wherein copies of his works were cast; and when they had all been burnt, Wolsey returned to York Place with the ambassadors and the prelates to a handsome banquet, during the enjoyment of which host and

guests doubtless described the *auto da fé* they had just attended.

On the 13th of May he issued a commission in his legatine capacity, directing every bishop to seize and send to him all the books of Martin Luther they could find in their several dioceses, and all congregations were to be commanded to deliver up such books within fifteen days; moreover, a list of the reformer's principal heresies was to be affixed to every church door. The conclusion of the document denounced the infectious errors as scandalous, as seductive to pious and simple minds, against all charity, and opposed to the holy Roman mother Church, contrary to ecclesiastical discipline, &c. &c.

The commission of the *legate à latere* did not produce more practical benefit to the Papacy than had the attack on Luther by the royal "Defender of the Faith." The fact was, the ground in England had long been prepared for the seed that had recently been scattered broadcast, and already gave promise of an abundant crop.

The cardinal's mortification at the result of the papal election must have been very great; but, knowing the intense gratification that any indication of disappointment must afford his enemies, who had become secretly, but more bitterly, hostile to him since they had witnessed the duke of Buckingham's fate, he appeared to bear it easily. It might have been thought that the enormous power and wealth in his possession, that could be enjoyed with comparative safety, ought to have been preferred to a dignity accompanied by the risks that even the forewarned and politic Leo found impossible to guard against.

Wolsey, however, was too thoroughly a churchman to prefer any position elsewhere to being head of the Apostolic Church of Rome; consequently he concealed his feelings, accepted the Emperor's excuses, and strove to ingratiate himself with his successful rival, who at once reciprocated his advances with a sound appreciation of the value of his political support; and, apparently, the English cardinal's position remained unchanged.

Pope Adrian VI. was in Spain at the period of his elevation. His absence from Rome was a grave objection there; but Manuel knew that he was devoted to his imperial master, and the ambassador of Charles had recourse to the same tactics that had gained the latter the empire, with a like success. The result was so unsatisfactory to the Roman people, that they overwhelmed the cardinals with execrations and abuse as they passed through the streets on quitting the conclave.

Wolsey's position between France and Spain demanded the utmost circumspection. Regarding his conduct merely as that of a politician of the time, it is impossible to withhold from him the praise of having displayed singular tact and skill. He was engaged in a conflict of craft with three pre-eminent adepts, each of whom would have been delighted with an opportunity of insuring his destruction while striving to outbid each other for his assistance. The most careful scrutiny of contemporary state papers will scarcely enable the reader to see his way through their conflicting statements. The fact is, there were not only wheels within wheels in the complicated machinery, but

some had an action introduced purposely to distract attention from the more important mechanism.

It is amusing in the despatches of those who professedly "lie abroad for the good of their country," to read accusations of deception. Juan Manuel, the clever envoy of Charles, is constantly writing to his imperial master, warning him of the duplicity of the English cardinal. This looks like a protest from one beaten at his own game—a confession of inferiority in an adroit fencer after a bout with the foils. Wolsey is evidently more cunning of fence than the Spaniard. Similar complaints had come from the Chancellor Gattinara and Leo X., and they no doubt were elicited by "a palpable hit" from the English political fencer.

The treaty of Henry with the Emperor, 1521, which Wolsey has the merit of having completed, has been condemned as a betrayal of the interests of his country to advance his own; but this is the result of examining the provisions from a nineteenth century point of view. The re-conquest of Guienne and Normandy had long been a popular idea in England, and could not have been impossible with imperial assistance. To aid Charles in his contemplated conquest of Italy was not more injurious to the interests of Englishmen than to permit a French army to occupy Milan and Genoa, and possess a dominant influence in Rome. Too great stress also seems to have been laid on what the English negotiator said to the Spaniards.* It was Wolsey's policy to make them satisfied with the completed arrangement. He was perfectly well

* Bergenroth, Introduction to "Archives of Simancas."

aware that his statements would be reported to the Emperor, and desired to leave on his mind an impression that he had had the best of the bargain. He was equally solicitous that Henry should entertain the same conviction.

At the visit of Charles V. to England in 1522, the lord cardinal, attended by the bishops of Ely, Carlisle, Chichester, and Rochester; the abbots of Westminster, Glastonbury, Bury, and St. Austin's, and a select retinue of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, was directed to wait at Dover to assist in escorting the Emperor to Canterbury—the king intending a meeting on the road. "Item.—At his entry into the town of Canterbury, the clergy being apparelled with copes, having crosses, relics, censers, and other ornaments, to stand on both sides of the streets in the said town from the first entry, till he shall come to Christ Church, then to be received by the archbishop of Canterbury with a good number of prelates; that is to say—the bishops of Chichester, Ely, Hereford, and Lincoln, with all the suffragans thereabout, and the king's chaplains, with others both spiritual and temporal, as shall be more particularly declared hereafter."*

According to Hall, the cardinal left London with a train composed of two earls, twenty-six knights, a hundred gentlemen, eight bishops, ten abbots, thirty chaplains, and seven hundred yeomen, travelling by easy stages.

When the imperial fleet anchored, the cardinal-archbishop was in readiness, and as the Emperor quitted his ship, Wolsey left the shore in a state

* "Rutland Papers." 74.

barge. They met on the water with mutual demonstrations of respect and reverence. The Kentish men, with the cavalcade of the cardinal and the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, thronged every vantage-point for observation. The landing was a grand spectacle; for Charles brought with him a court composed of the noblest and fairest of both sexes, who filled the boats that left the fleet; and as the flags waved and the cannon boomed, and the multitude cheered, the magnificent emperor, conducted by the equally stately cardinal, stepped on shore under a canopy of gold, on which the imperial cognizances had been embroidered, and with his numerous suite of cavaliers and ladies, proceeded to Dover Castle, where they rested.*

Another account states that the king hurried into Dover Castle within an hour after the Emperor's arrival, when the two sovereigns embraced with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. This statement is at variance with the accounts of eye-witnesses published in contemporary letters.

Charles remained at Dover several days, and Wolsey wrote to the king the Emperor's desire to meet him at the castle. Henry made his appearance with a small company on the 28th of May. He had announced his intention through Wingfield. The cardinal was directed to prepare for his accommodation.†

* "Archæologia," vi. 180.

† Wingfield to Wolsey, "State Papers," i. 98. Sir Richard Wingfield wrote by direction of the king respecting preparations to be made for the Emperor's reception at Dover; tells him that he is to dislodge all the noblemen of his own or the king's retinue, to make room for those the king intends to bring with him, and to

They left Dover together on the 31st, after inspecting the great ship, as it was then considered, "The Harry Grace à Dieu." Preceded by the earl of Derby, of the cardinal's retinue, who carried the sword of state, they went on to Canterbury, where they made offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, and lodged in the archbishop's palace.

From Canterbury the Emperor and his escort were to be conducted through Sittingbourne and Rochester to Gravesend, where the king's barges gorgeously decorated were to convey him to Greenwich, and the same state to be observed in the journey to London. The cardinal legate preserved a conspicuous place in the procession; indeed his consequence seems to have been a subject of serious consideration by the officers who directed the proceedings. Among the official memoranda then written, we find :—

"Item: How many messes of meat shall be served for my Lord Cardinal and his chamber at the king's charge—five or six—more or less? Or whether his Grace will be contented with a certain money by the day to his diet, and cause his own officers to make provision for the same, and to serve it."*

In a subsequently written paper, it is decided that my lord cardinal should have eight messes, whereof six were to be furnished. As the Emperor

keep secret his coming to meet the Emperor, "to the intent that it may appear to the Emperor only his coming to be of his own mind and affection towards the Emperor."

* "Rutland Papers," 79.

and his train required but twenty messes, an idea may be arrived at of the extent of the cardinal's dignity.

On the 2nd of June they reached Gravesend by the route prescribed for them, and were conveyed to Greenwich in thirty barges. Here they were met by Queen Katherine and the Princess Mary, then six years old, and sumptuously feasted. On the 6th they left Greenwich Palace for London, passing over London Bridge, and were welcomed with pageants and all approved civic demonstrations of popularity. At St. Paul's they were received by the archbishop of Canterbury and twenty-one prelates *in pontificalibus*.

Having dismounted, they offered at the high altar; the Emperor and the king then remounted and proceeded to the Black Friars, where the former was lodged with great royalty.* After a long course of imperial entertainments, Charles was taken to Richmond, to Hampton Court, and to Windsor. At the last place he remained till the 19th; and on the 22nd his suite were at Winchester, on their way to Portsmouth; whence the Emperor embarked on the 1st of July.

There is a curious description given of the French play acted before the Emperor, the king, and the cardinal, on Sunday, 16th June, 1522:—

"A man came on the stage with a great horse very wild and ferocious. Friendship, Prudence, and Might asked him what he wanted. He answered the horse belonged to him, but was so wild and untameable he could not make any use of him.

* Hall, 640.

Friendship said to the man with the horse that he had just come to the right persons, as they knew best how to manage an unruly steed. If he would confide the horse to them, they would not only subject him, but also make him as tame and obedient as any horse in the world. They now produced a bridle, and bridled the horse with it. That done, they asked the master of the horse to mount him. At first the master was afraid; but when he mounted the horse, he found that the animal was quiet and obedient, although he raised his head very high. Friendship said they would make him lower his head. A curb was attached to the horse, which directly lowered his head. Without being led, the animal followed his master wherever he went.

"Thus the farce ended,—the meaning of it is clear. The horse is the king of France." Whether they have bridled and tamed him the writer is unable to say.

We next come to conclusive evidence that business was considered as well as pleasure.

"Cardinal Wolsey to all persons.

"On the 20th of June, 1522, he constituted his legatine court in one of the upper rooms in Windsor Castle, and the Emperor elect and King Henry VIII. have declared before him, in his quality of papal legate, that they have sworn to their treaty on the 19th of June, 1522. Whichever of them shall break the treaty, or any clause of it, subjects himself to all the penalties of excommunication."

The witnesses are: Henry, Count of Nassau; Mercurino, Count Gattinara; Petrus de Mota,

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 445.

Bishop of Palencia; Count Parma; Laurentius de Gorrevodo; Johannes Aleman de Cressey; Thomas, Bishop of Durham; George, Earl of Shrewsbury; Charles, Earl of Worcester; Lord Herbert; Cuthbert Tunstall, Doctor of Laws and Bishop elect of London; Henry Marney, Knight of the Garter; Thomas Bulleyn.

Notaries.—Robert Toweys; William Burbank.*

The Emperor's second visit to England had more than one object in view. He had to induce the king to put forth all the resources at his command for a vigorous recommencement of hostilities against France, as well as soothe the irritation created in the mind of his able minister by the result of the papal election. Charles was a master of dissimulation, and was as ready with explanations for the past as promises for the future. The new pontiff's age and increasing infirmities were artfully dwelt upon, as well as the certainty of the English cardinal's success, after a brief interval. Henry was won by an affectation of frankness and deference, as well as by the complimentary appointment of Lord Surrey as the Emperor's high admiral. Wolsey was obliged to lend himself to the advancement of the imperial schemes; but evidently did not enter into them quite so readily nor so cordially as heretofore.†

Martin de Salinas, ambassador of the Archduke and Infante Ferdinand at the imperial court, writes to the treasurer Salamanca, 21st June, 1522: "I have not spoken with the cardinal of England, who

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 442.

† Prescott, "Charles V.," Book II.

has been staying in a country house of his in order to despatch business there with the chancellor. I asked the chancellor to speak with the cardinal, and to hear his opinion concerning the succour against the Turks. The chancellor told me that he had spoken with the cardinal on that matter; but that the cardinal had said to him, 'The real Turk is he with whom we are occupied, and I know no other Turk.'"*

Charles did not employ his time unprofitably in England. While being *fêted* and feasted, he found plenty of opportunities for coming to an understanding with the king of England's powerful minister. He showered upon him solid proofs of his regard in the shape of sumptuous presents, said to have been a portion of the treasure taken by the Spaniards from Mexico. He paid the greatest deference to his judgment, and consulted him on his most important affairs; moreover, he promised to secure to him the succession to the Papacy. To secure Wolsey's co-operation was the real object of the imperial visit; and knowing that possibly in a few days his rival might be bidding for the same assistance, he attempted to baffle all attempts at competition. As the shores of England faded from his sight, the Emperor had reason to be content that no opposition to his ambitious projects would come from that direction.

There was also much done with Charles V. during this visit, besides arranging complimentary pageants for the illustrious guest. He was installed a Knight of the Garter; and as Francis had declared war against England, it was essential

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 444.

that England's powerful supporter should be bound to assist her by joining in a solemn league and covenant. In the treaty entered into, one of the provisions was that the Emperor should marry the Princess Mary, the only issue of Henry's marriage, as soon as she should be twelve years old. The bridegroom had already been promised a handsome fortune with this rather unsuitable bride, and now received a liberal advance.

Whatever censure may fall upon Wolsey for abandoning the cause of the king of France for that of the Emperor, no terms of indignation can be strong enough for the conduct of Charles. His engagement to secure the papal government to the English cardinal was a gross deceit; equally so were his promises of a pecuniary nature. He had not brought a farthing either to the king of England or to his minister of what he owed them, and the loan of 150,000 crowns was still unpaid. To make these transactions more discreditable, he subsequently employed all his influence with the Pope to get absolved from his obligations. This, however, was prevented by the extraordinary events that shortly afterwards occurred in Italy.

Wolsey wrote to the king, announcing the arrival of the Spanish navy of sixteen ships. It is dated "From my poor house besides Westminster, the 9th of August, 1522," and superscribed, "To the King's most Noble Grace, Defensour of the Feith." He wrote again the next day, giving additional intelligence respecting the Spaniards. On the 11th he forwarded news of the French fleet, advising that the English shall be joined with the Spanish ships, to

attempt a good exploit against the former. A more copious despatch was written by the cardinal in the same month, announcing Charles V.'s arrival in Spain, and reviewing the state of Spanish and French affairs. He advised complimentary letters to be written to the Emperor to prevent his accepting the liberal offers that were likely to be made by Francis. He then gives his reasons for recommending this policy.

In a despatch written about the middle of September, Wolsey describes to the king the truce arranged by Lord Dacre with the duke of Albany, which had the happy effect of causing an invading Scottish army of 80,000 men, furnished with 1,000 hackbuts carted upon trestles, as well as with a marvellous great number of hand-guns, that had approached within five miles of Carlisle, to disperse; and recommends a peace with Scotland, which would thwart the objects of French intrigue. He adds intelligence of the proceedings of Admiral Lord Surrey on the French coast.

The republic of Venice had presented Pace with a pension of a thousand ducats, and probably sent a larger sum to the cardinal; moreover, they named the king of England as arbitrator in their quarrel with the Emperor, and Henry accepted the office. Unfortunately for their expectations, Charles V. suggested to Henry the advantage of laying an embargo on Venetian vessels in English ports, by way of forcing the republic to join the league against France. His eagerness to secure the assistance of this maritime power in warlike operations against France, must have prevented Wolsey from seeing

the moral wrong committed on a government that had submitted to the mediation of England. The excuse put forward is that Venice was regarded by European sovereigns as merely a company of merchants. Their complaints, therefore, met with no consideration, and ultimately the Signory were forced into the alliance.*

That Henry seriously entertained a design of conquering France, or at least such portion of the kingdom as had been gained by the valour of his heroic ancestors, is evident from several passages in the official correspondence of the period. Sir Thomas More, writing to Wolsey on the 21st of September, 1522, states—

"After your Grace's said letter read [to the king] when he saw of your Grace's own hand that I should diligently solicit the expedition of those other things, for as much as your Grace intended, and gladly would despatch the p[ost] this present Sunday, his Grace laughed and said, 'Nay, by my so[ul] that will not be, for this is my removing day soon at New [Hall], I will read the remnant at night.' Whereupon after that his Grace had come home hither, and had dined, being six of the clock in the night, I offered myself again to his Grace in his own chamber, at which time he was content to sign the letters to the Emperor, and the other letters for the exped[ition] of the gentlemen of Spreuce [Prussia], putting over all the remnant t[ill this] day in the morning. Whereupon at my parting with his Grace yesternight, I received from your Grace a letter addressed unto his [Grace,] with

* "Archives of Venice," vol. ii.

which I forthwith returned to his Grace in the Queen's chamber, where his Grace read openly my Lord Admiral's letter to the Queen's Grace, which marvellously rejoiced in the good news, and specially in that, that the French king should be now towards a tutor, and his realm to have a governor. In the communication whereof, which lasted about one hour, the King's Grace said, that *he trusted in God to be there Governor himself*, and that they should by this means make a way for him as King Richard did for his father."*

Among the unwonted circumstances produced by the election of Adrian, who had remained in Spain, was the appearance there of an English ambassador, John Clerk, to congratulate him on his elevation. This compliment so pleased the Pontiff, whose position was rendered almost unendurable through the insolence of the cardinals and the contempt of the Emperor and the king of France, that he professed extraordinary partiality for the Englishman, and made him his chief counsellor. Wolsey, desirous of taking advantage of this friendly feeling, tried to induce him to visit England for the purpose of having an interview with the king and the Emperor; but Juan Manuel, out of opposition to the English cardinal, whom he detested, directed that Adrian should go to Rome by the way of Flanders and Germany. John Clerk accompanied him on his voyage, and landed with him at Ostia on the 28th of August, 1522.

The Pontiff professed a policy of peace, but offered to join in the war if the king of England would give

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 110.

him 50,000 ducats. The papal exchequer was not only low—it had been left in debt by the sumptuous Leo to the amount of 1,150,000 ducats; all his successor would do was to send ambassadors to the kings of France and England to endeavour to negotiate a peace. They proved as unfit for their office as Adrian was for his; and nothing came of their mission. Wolsey now wrote to the Pope, professing the desire of the king of England for peace. This was done at the instigation of the imperial agent in England, Louis de Praet, and was a manœuvre of the Emperor to prevent a peace, while he threw the blame of the failure on his ally, the king of England; for John Clerk, who was entrusted with the imperial and regal proposals, was directed to travel so slowly that he could only arrive after the war had commenced.

There are many testimonies of high approval of Wolsey's conduct as lord chancellor; the highest of all we presume to be that of Sir Thomas More, who writes to Erasmus, that he discharged the duties of that post so admirably as to surpass the expectations of those who had the greatest opinion of his other eminent qualifications. More adds, what is more surprising is, that Wolsey should give such general satisfaction after the noble manner in which the duties had been performed by Archbishop Warham.

The cardinal has been severely blamed for the unconstitutional manner in which he expanded the taxation of the country; but it is scarcely fair to judge him by the principles that are expected to govern modern chancellors of the exchequer. No

doubt there was much in his administration that was arbitrary; but he was forced to carry out the king's instructions, and their character may be judged by Henry's subsequent threat to a member, to get the bill in the House passed by to-morrow or else his head would be off. The royal necessities made it imperative that these supplies should be obtained, and in the manner of procuring the "loan" as well as in enforcing it, Wolsey only exhibited that zeal for the king's service which was expected of every minister. That he had committed no wrong in the transaction, Henry afterwards fully acknowledged to the bitterest of his enemies. "There was no blame in him," he replied to Anne Boleyn, "for I know that matter better than you or any one else."

As the first minister of the Crown, the labours of the cardinal archbishop began daily to assume a more onerous character. The extravagant expenditure that had for several years past been incurred in showy but comparatively useless ceremonials, had exhausted the exchequer. An invasion of France with 40,000 men had been promised; but an army was not in those days, any more than now, to be sent into the field without due provision. The cost was enormous, and the means of defraying it very difficult to procure. But the clerical lord high chancellor soon showed himself equal to the emergency. He did not allow any scruples to restrain him in the fulfilment of what he considered to be his duty. Necessity had then not only no law but no conscience; and ordinary considerations of right and justice could be but straws in the path of a faithful

administrator who had to look only to his sovereign's difficulties.

The cardinal set to work with a stern spirit to collect a sufficient supply. Under the name of a loan, £20,000 was obtained from the city of London, and the country was scoured by commissioners having powers to make every person declare on oath the value of his possessions. We will first describe this financier's mode of dealing with the merchants and dealers in the metropolis. On the 20th of August he sent for the civic authorities and "substantial commoners," and declared to them the measures that had been authorized by the king to raise a fund for the defence of the realm.

"Wherefore at convenient time," he is reported to have said, "certify to me the number of such as be worth £100 and upwards, to the intent that I may swear them to their values; for first the king asketh you your loving hearts and due obedience, and when the value is taken, he desireth only *the tenth part of goods and lands*, which is the least reasonable thing that you can aid your prince with. I think every one of you will offer no less. As for the spirituality," he continued, apprehending perhaps a reference to the imputed wealth of the clergy, "every man is in the shires sworn, and shall gladly pay *the fourth part* to the king, and live on the three parts."

The good citizens ought to have been reconciled to an assessment so greatly in their favour. They, however, held their tongues. The cardinal came to the point with them at once:—

"Now to your part I am sure," he continued

persuasively, "you will not grudge; therefore name me the men of substance; and for the meaner sort, meaner commissioners shall be appointed."

Whatever there may have been flattering in this distinction was not likely to reconcile the worthy burgesses to the loss of a tenth part of their available property. But there sat the dread assessor, awful in his greatness, surrounded by the overpowering emblems of his spiritual and temporal power, without which he never appeared in public, and they must have felt convinced that they had only to submit.

"Sir," inquired a merchant a little bolder than the mayor and aldermen, "if it please you, how shall this tenth part to the king be delivered?"

"In money, plate, or jewels," promptly replied the cardinal, "at a value."

"O, my lord," now cried one of the aldermen, "it is not two months since the king had of the city £20,000 in ready money, in loan, whereby the city is very bare of money. For God's sake, remember this, that merchants rich in ware may be bare in money!"

But their awful assessor, notwithstanding his very Christian pretensions, would allow of no such appeal. He sat there in his gorgeous costume as a Prince of the Church, with his silver crosses, his pillar, his mace, and the other emblems of his ecclesiastical omnipotence, yet he chose to ignore everything but the fact that he was a financier engaged in a difficult financial operation. So he replied sharply, "Well, the thing must be done, and therefore go about it."

Unfortunate mayor! hapless aldermen! miserable

"substantial commoners"!—they hardly dared to raise their eyes again to the pronouncer of their doom. They were painfully convinced that the thing *must* be done, and made all possible haste to go about it.

Each of the aldermen proceeded to his ward, then selected those of their fellow-citizens who were worth the tything, and sent them to York Place. Reluctantly they passed into that dreaded presence, and confronted the grandeur of their inexorable judge. Piteously they implored not to be sworn as to the true value of their stock, because a correct valuation was impossible; they averred, moreover, that many an honest man's credit was better than his substance, and feelingly expressed their fear of being forsworn.

The nature of the cardinal archbishop seemed to soften, though the heart of the chancellor remained as hard as the nether millstone.

"Well," he replied considerately, "since you dread the crime of perjury, it is a sign of grace."

The trembling tradesmen anticipated a reprieve. They were speedily undeceived.

"And therefore," he added, "I will for you borrow of the king a little."

What could his eminence mean? their mystified countenances seemed to ask of each other. They had not been sent there to borrow, but to pay. His eminence explained—

"Make you your bills of your own value," he said, "according to what you esteem your credit, and then more business needeth not. For you see,"—the politic statesman now appealed to their

patriotism—"what two costly armies the king hath ready both against France and Scotland; therefore now show yourselves like loving subjects, for you be able enough. I dare swear the substance of London is no less worth than two millions of gold."

This seemed an extravagant estimate then, though more than one citizen is worth it now. "We would to God that it were so," cried one of the capitalists, and then complained that their profit was diminished by the resort of strangers—foreigners dealing in the goods sold by themselves.

The cardinal archbishop softened again, and promised to have the grievance redressed: having done this, he felt it necessary to show a more rigid authority, and directed them to return on Saturday, and bring their bills to present to an officer appointed to receive them. "He that is of credit more than substance, let him come to me," he added, as if in a kinder spirit, "and I will be secret and good to him."

It does not appear that this assurance was very comforting, as the citizens are reported to have left the presence-chamber in great agony.* They had only lately parted with twenty per cent. of what they were worth, and now to have an additional ten per cent. taken from them seemed unreasonable. However they escaped another visit to the awful dignitary; his secretary, Dr. Tonnys, being sent to the chapter-house at St. Paul's to receive their bills.

So it fared with the mercantile community. The turn of the clergy came next. They prudently

* Hall, 645.

protested against any layman having cognizance of their income or possessions. The cardinal archbishop appreciated the reason for a dislike of lay supervision, and appointed bishops and abbots as valuers. While they proceeded through the counties on this errand, the landed gentry, yeomen, and provincial merchants and traders, were mulcted of their shares in the same way. Whatever was the amount of the sum thus raised, it proved insufficient, and the finance minister found himself obliged to have recourse to the legitimate means of raising money for the king's use.

There had not been a parliament for eight years; but one was assembled for the despatch of business on the 15th of April. The king opened it in person, occupying the throne, with the cardinal archbishop seated at his feet, on the right side, and the archbishop of Canterbury on his left.

The Commons again elected for their speaker Sir Thomas More, who, as was the custom, strove to excuse his want of ability for the office. This was replied to by the lord high chancellor with a studied eulogium on his learning, wit, and discretion, and he was placed in the chair. The faithful Commons while sitting were favoured with a visitor, an honour of which some of them were not quite so sensible as it was intended they should be. The cardinal archbishop was there in all his dignity; but whether he came as lord high chancellor, as a Spanish bishop, or a Roman legate, they did not inquire. All they cared to know was, that there was the awful presence, and all they seemed to understand was that, as Prince of the Church, or

first minister of the Crown, he was there to overawe them. He was by no means popular in this assembly, for they made him responsible for the arbitrary exactions, and all the unprofitable wars of the last ten years. They believed that he had persuaded the king to rule without them; they attributed to his vindictive spirit the death of the princely duke of Buckingham; added to which, they were aware he had arrogantly asserted that whatever passed in their debates became blown abroad in every alehouse,—an anticipation of the modern results of reporting. They therefore did not approve of his presence in a preliminary discussion. The Speaker then addressed them:—

"My masters," he said, "forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, as ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it would not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his cross, his hat, and the great seal too, to the intent that, if he find the like fault with us then, we may lay the blame on those whom his Grace bringeth with him."*

This put the very grave affair in so ludicrous an aspect that the members became reconciled to the breach of privilege. In due time the great man appeared with all those emblems of his greatness to which the Speaker had facetiously referred, and proceeded to address the House in a studied oration. After abusing the king of France for having necessitated an armed coalition against him of the king

* Roper's "Life of More."

of England and the Emperor, he stated that there was a charge incurred of £800,000, which it was imperative should be defrayed by a tax of four shillings in the pound on every man's goods throughout the country.

The members had been silently amusing themselves by scanning the imposing display made by their visitor; but as soon as they heard his proposition, all idea of entertainment left them. They could only be sensible of the astounding fact, that notwithstanding the imposts by which their property had so heavily suffered, it was the intention of the king to take another fifth. They remained dumb and blank. The cardinal waited for a reply; but not a word was uttered. The great man addressed a member by name; mutely he rose and then silently resumed his seat. A little irritated, Wolsey called to another, who acknowledged the compliment by rising; then he also sat down. This inexplicable dumb show roused the ire of their distinguished visitor.

"Gentlemen!" he said, "as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is without doubt a surprising and most obstinate silence. Unless, indeed," he added, turning to Sir Thomas More, "it may be the manner of your House to express your mind by your Speaker only."

Sir Thomas proved himself equal to the occasion. First performing the customary act of reverence, he strove to excuse the unusual silence by laying it to the charge of the unusual presence. He gently insinuated that this was contrary to the ancient

liberties of the House; then asserted the impossibility of his head containing the essence of their several wits, for which reason he was unable to make his Grace a proper answer. The cardinal, probably with an uncomfortable impression that he was being laughed at, rose abruptly and quitted the house, evidently in a towering passion.*

An animated debate ensued, that was protracted day after day without coming to the vote, till the cardinal again intruded upon the assembly. They were not in a humour to receive him with even the enforced respect they had shown on his first entrance; and when he haughtily demanded to hear their reasons for refusing the king's request, he was promptly informed that they never expressed their opinions before strangers. Again baffled, the angry prelate withdrew.

Still more imprudent was the course subsequently pursued by the king, apparently by the advice of his first minister. Sir Henry Montagu, one of the most influential members, was sent for, and plainly told that unless the subsidy was granted in four-and-twenty hours, he would be shorter by a head. There seemed to be no evading such an argument as this, and under its influence a bill was passed permitting an impost of two shillings in the pound on every estate of twenty pounds annual value; all below that value one shilling; under forty shillings, every head above sixteen was to pay fourpence in two years.

The minister was disappointed, and desired to give the House reasons for a more liberal grant; but

* Roper's "Life of More," 19.

they replied that they only reasoned among themselves; they were, however, induced to increase the grant to three shillings in the pound on property worth fifty pounds a year and upwards.

The unpopularity of the measure was universal, and the unfortunate financier increased the public indignation, now rising rapidly against him, by insisting that the entire subsidy, which had been returnable in four years, should be collected in one. It caused the most terrible distress in almost all the counties, and curses not loud but deep fell upon the author; but he was too completely immersed in business, spiritual and temporal, to heed either complaints or menaces.

Among his military operations was an invasion of Picardy, whilst Francis was leading an army for the reconquest of Milan; but an event in which he was far more deeply interested than the war either in Italy or France occurred on the 14th of September, 1523.

Wolsey's views of the necessity of a reformation were at last endorsed by the Pontiff Adrian, who finding Luther's attacks on the papal system likely to overthrow it in Germany, in a brief addressed to the Diet at Nuremberg, confessed the existence of the very evils the denunciation of which had excited so many fierce persecutions from the court of Rome. The corruptions were frankly acknowledged, their removal promised, and the assistance of the Diet required to devise the most effectual means for effecting the much desired reform.* This, however, was but a politic demonstration to gain

* "Fasciculi Rerum expet. et fugiend.," 354.

the support of the Diet, while the nuncio Chieregato accredited by Adrian, used all his influence to suppress the movement. Campeggio was subsequently sent by Clement VII., when the well-known hundred grievances had been promulgated by the council, and was still more diplomatic; but totally without avail. The German mind was only to be satisfied by a total change of system; the court of Rome would only concede a small attempt to correct minor abuses. Wolsey could not have failed to anticipate the result of the contest.

Adrian VI. was scarcely a participator in the war when the additional expense began to weigh very heavy on his mind, and heavier on his frame. He became sick as soon as he realized the cost of warfare, and the payment of 20,000 ducats for the papal army, on the 29th of August, 1523, affected him so profoundly, that on the 14th of the following month he died. His parsimony was so distasteful to the squanderers of the Sacred College, that in recording his loss they affirmed that he had left behind him the reputation of having been very stingy and very weak.*

On the death of Adrian, the feelings of the Romans, who had detested him as the creature of Spain, were displayed by decorating the house of his physician with garlands placed over the door, and a significant inscription,—"To the deliverer of his country;" at once a recompense for, and a recognition of, a practice of getting rid of obnoxious prelates for which they had earned a bad name in Europe. There was a determination expressed to have no

* "Archives of Simancas."

more transmontane rulers. It was again insisted that the Papacy was a Roman institution; in which conviction they completely lost sight of its supposed founder, who was certainly not a Roman. All apostolic traditions and pretensions were ignored during the fifty days' excitement of the protracted election. The *deus ex machinâ* was again the Emperor; but his agents found it necessary to give his influence in favour of the most popular candidate.

The king of England promised Wolsey assistance. Support was also proffered from influential cardinals, including Giulio de' Medici; and again he employed a confidential agent well provided with the means of exerting a successful influence over the Sacred College. This person was Dr. Clark, who was at Rome as an ambassador from Henry. The letter Wolsey wrote fully explains the ways and means then had recourse to at the papal court for realizing the aspirations of ambitious churchmen.

"Ye be wise," wrote the cardinal, "and ye wot what I mean. Trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit," he added, to impress more caution, "great dexterity is to be used, and the king thinketh that all the imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the Emperor. The young men for the most part being needy, will give good ear to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed. The king willeth you to spare neither his authority nor his good money or substance. You may be assured whatever you promise shall

be performed. And the Lord send you good speed."*

Henry was earnest for the success of his friend and counsellor; but his ambassador had not long entered upon his functions as the cardinal's agent in securing his election, before he discovered the value of the proviso in his letter of instructions, —"if faith be in the Emperor." The whole affair had been long arranged in favour of one of his most earnest supporters in the Sacred College—the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who had written to Wolsey so encouragingly of his prospects on the 19th of November, was elected unanimously.†

After the demise of Adrian, the duke of Sessa, imperial ambassador at Rome, writes to the Emperor, 28th October, 1523: "I have received letters from England in which the election of the cardinal of England is warmly recommended to me. The English think that his election is almost sure, as though God would work every day a miracle. They imagine that a person who is absent will be elected pope. In order to satisfy the English I have strongly recommended the election of the cardinal of England. But the cardinals have sworn not to elect an absent person as pope. Though they are in the habit of breaking their oaths, I think they will fulfil them in this case, as they are afraid of the people, who clamorously demand that the Pope shall be elected from those who are present in the conclave. The English ambassadors know very

* Fiddes, "Collection to the Life of Cardinal Wolsey," 88.

† The "Archives of Simancas" contain abundant evidence of the deception practised upon Wolsey.

well what incalculable calamities have been the consequence of the last election."*

The insincerity of the Emperor respecting his assurances to the cardinal is plain in his letter to the duke of Sessa, his ambassador at Rome, 14th December, 1523:—"I wrote to him about the election of the cardinal of England as soon as I was informed of the death of Pope Adrian, *but ordered that my letter should be detained at Barcelona.*"

As before, Charles made not the slightest effort in his favour. All he cared for was to prevent the election of a candidate in the interests of France. The rival influences were in active operation, but the conclave chose to obey a suggestion of one of their number, to preserve the unity of the Christian republic by having Cardinal Giulio for pope. He was presently hailed as Clement VII. "by the inspiration of God." Not only was nothing said about Cardinal Wolsey, but the College had bound themselves by the oath mentioned by the duke of Sessa, in consequence of their last choice having been so unsatisfactory.

Cardinal Pompeo Colonna had been an unsuccessful candidate for the tiara at the last election; but having been brought up in the conviction entertained by his family, that it was their inheritance, he intrigued with Moncada, ambassador from the Emperor, with whose assistance he organized a body of troops that surprised Rome, dispersed the papal guards, and obliged the Pontiff to fly for safety to St. Angelo. Clement, however, was soon obliged to come to terms with Moncada, who disappointed the Colonnas by granting him the imperial support,

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 590.

on condition that he should withdraw from "the Holy League."

As in the preceding instance, Wolsey concealed his sense of disappointment. It was infinitely more painful, while his increased unpopularity made it a thousand times more agreeable to his enemies. He wrote a letter to the king, as much in a philosophic as in a patriotic spirit, pretending to see in the election something particularly satisfactory to England and to himself. Pace, who had returned to Rome, was instructed to offer to the new Pontiff the king of England's congratulations, and was commissioned to ask in the king's name for an extension of his chief minister's legatine powers. This request was immediately granted in so ample a manner, that no subject in England ever before enjoyed such powers and privileges. The cardinal legate had all the authority in England of the Pope himself; moreover, had it for life.*

The cardinal's outlay at Rome must have been excessive, if judged only by the number and importance of the bulls he obtained, by means of which, though he failed to secure the position of Supreme Pontiff in the capital of Christendom, he could assume his powers in England, and to some extent on the continent. One invested him with the privilege of creating fifty knights, as many counts palatine, acolytes and chaplains, as well as forty apostolic notaries: he was also empowered to remit sins, to legitimate natural children, as well as to grant dispensations and confer degrees in law, physic, and divinity. Wolsey, therefore, was to all intents and

* Wilkins, "Concilia," iii. 763.

purposes, a pope in England, and wherever he could be permitted to exercise his legatine authority. It was by such authority apparently he removed the convocation of the see of Canterbury from St. Paul's to Westminster, which gave such deep offence to Archbishop Warham.

The measure was opposed by the clergy, as against all precedent, as well as in contradiction to their citation to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury. The feelings it excited are thus expressed in a contemporary letter :—

"Also in the convocation among the priests the day of their appearance, as soon as Mass of the Holy Ghost at Paul's was done, my Lord Cardinal cited them to appear before his Convocation at Westminster, which they did, and there was another Mass of the Holy Ghost; and within six or seven days the priests proved that all my Lord Cardinal's Convocation should do, would be void, because their summons was to appear before my Lord of Canterbury; which thing so espeed my Lord Cardinal hath addressed a new citation into every county, commanding the priests to appear before him eight days after the Ascension; and then I think they shall have a third Mass of the Holy Ghost. I pray God the Holy Ghost be among them and us both. I do tremble to remember the end of all these high and new enterprises; for oftentimes it hath been seen that to a new enterprise there followeth a new manner and strange sequels. God of his mercy send his Grace unto such new fashions that it may be for the best."

In the document that invested Wolsey with ex-

traordinary legatine powers, there was an opening for his taking upon himself a new character,—that of reformer of religious abuses. The evils of monachism had been presented to him in such a light during a recent visitation, that he had become strongly impressed with the necessity of strenuous measures to repress them; and when invested with adequate power, he determined to get rid of the worst features of the system.

Clement VII., as a testimony of his regard for the king of England, sent by the hands of Dr. Hannibal, Master of the Rolls, that extraordinary compliment, the consecrated rose*—a shrub with branches, leaves, buds, and roses of gold, in a gold pot filled with gold dust by way of earth; in the top blossom was a bright sapphire. About the same time he entrusted to Secretary Pace a ring of value, which he drew from his own finger, expressing regret that he could not himself present it in person. It was evident, therefore, that he desired the support of the powerful king, and his almost equally powerful minister. Both presents were received with the liveliest satisfaction.

* The consecration and presentation of the golden rose dates at least as early as the pontificate of Leo IX., but probably existed before. The Pontiff used to present it to the Prefect of the city, after delivering a public discourse respecting its virtues: the custom fell into desuetude about the middle of the fifteenth century. Subsequent popes conferred the golden rose on distinguished princes, and Innocent III. composed a homily, in which he dwelt at length on its mystic virtues, and the elaborate ceremony of its consecration. Cartari wrote an essay, "La Rosa d'Ora Pontifica," 1681, and much learning has been accumulated on the subject by Angeli Rocca, "Opera Omnia," vol. i.: 1719.

The cardinal, by the result of the second papal election, became sensible that he had been duped, and thenceforth nurtured an intense desire to punish the faithless monarch who had deceived him. He had to wait for his opportunity, for at present the coalition was maintained, and Henry seemed all ardour to carry it out to the fullest possible extent. At first Wolsey cautiously sounded friends he had in France respecting the inclinations of their sovereign, who was in a position that made him eager to avail himself of such overtures—the Constable Bourbon had revolted, and commanded a considerable force.

Wolsey at first would have nothing to do with him; and not only prevented Henry from favouring the duke, but induced the king to write to the Emperor to dissuade him from countenancing Bourbon's treason. Whether this arose from suspicion that the revolt was simulated, does not appear; but the times were not favourable to the development of public virtue, and it was not to be expected in either kings or cardinals.

Subsequently, the duke proffered services against his country, which were accepted by the confederates in their desire to accomplish the object of the coalition; but he was supported only by the Emperor. The able minister who managed all English negotiations, appears to have been secretly doing his best to thwart the Constable's designs: the fact is, the policy of Wolsey favoured neither of the antagonistic powers. Henry at last agreed to the Emperor's suggestions in favour of the duke of Bourbon, and Wolsey had to arrange for making use of him against his sovereign.

CHAPTER VI.

THOMAS WOLSEY, CARDINAL LEGATE.

Preparations for War—Communications of Sir Thomas More—Wolsey's Liberality—His Statesmanship approved by the King—The Duke of Bourbon—War in Italy—Capture of Francis—Discontent in England—The Benevolence—Treaty with the King of France—Duplicity—Entertainments at York Place—Henry VIII. and Wolsey—Royalty disguised—Sack of Rome—Desperate Position of the Pope and Cardinals—Excitement produced in England—Wolsey founds New Lectures in Oxford—His Endowments at Ipswich and Oxford—The Professors—Suppression of Religious Houses—Proclamation against the Importation of Religious Books—The Bishop of Durham—Reform in Cardinal College—A Good Monk—The King and Luther—Apathy in England respecting the Fate of the Pope.

THE cardinal was constantly occupied in keeping the king well informed on all events of importance, home or foreign. Respecting Pace's treaty with the Venetians, concluded 3rd August, 1523, he expressed himself in warm commendation, especially dilating on the agreement of the republic to pay the Emperor 25,000 ducats for eight years, and provide 800 spears, 500 light horse, and 5,000 foot against the French; besides fifteen galleys, should they return to Italy. This letter is dated 10th of August, and on the 17th he wrote explaining the treaty with the Pope, announcing that he has forwarded directions that bonfires and other

rejoicings should be made in honour of its conclusion. While forming these alliances, the indefatigable minister was as actively making preparations for war.

We have recorded the manner in which Sir Thomas More, while filling the office of Speaker of the House of Commons, commented on the cardinal's assumption of state; nevertheless in his official correspondence with the minister he treated him with profound respect, acknowledging himself his "poor humble orator and most bounden bedeman." This had its effect in the following recommendation to the king, dated 24th of August, 1523.

"At your manor of Hampton Court.

"And, Sire, where it hath been accustomed that the Speakers of the Parliament, in consideration of their diligence and painstaking have had—though the Parliament hath been right down finished, above the £100 ordinary, a reward of £100 for the better maintenance of their household, and other charges sustained in the same. I suppose, Sir, that the faithful diligence of the said Sir Thomas More, in all your causes treated in this your late Parliament, as well for your subsidy, right now passed, as otherwise considered, no man could better deserve the same than he hath done. Wherefore your pleasure known therein, I shall cause the same to be advanced unto him accordingly—ascertaining your Grace that I am the rather moved to put your Highness in remembrance thereof, because he is not the most ready to speak and solicit his own cause."*

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 124.

Sir Thomas, on the 20th of the same month, acknowledged this act of kindness, and requested an order to the treasurer to pay the sum proposed. "Whereby I and all mine, as the manifold goodness of your Grace hath already bound us, shall daily [be] more and more bounden to pray for your Grace, whom our Lord long preserve in honour and in health."*

Although it is a mistake to imagine that the cardinal had directed affairs entirely his own way,—for more than once Henry insisted on taking a line of his own,—the king was rarely insensible to the qualities of statesmanship displayed by his minister. In a note from Sir Thomas More, dated 1st September, 1523, he communicates the reception by the king of Wolsey's various despatches. "In the reading and advising of all which things his Highness said that he perceived well what labour, study, pains, and travail your Grace had taken in the device and penning of so many, so great things, so high, well despatched in so brief time, when the only reading thereof held him above two hours. His Highness therefore commanded me to write unto your Grace his most hearty, and not more hearty than well-deserved, thanks."†

Such acknowledgments are frequent.

Richard Pace was in 1523 with the duke of Bourbon when he put his army in motion and marched upon Nice, and both the Emperor and the king of England had promised him pecuniary assistance. The first sent 300,000 ducats, the other promised 200,000 crowns; but all the duke received

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 127. † Ibid., 130.

was the sum of 33,000 ducats. Wolsey did not think it prudent to, or could not conveniently provide more, subsequently excusing himself by stating that no more had been asked for. Nevertheless, the constable's military operations in Provence were tolerably successful at first; but for want of due support he had been checked at Marseilles; before which Pace and the duke did little except quarrel with each other.

The Emperor now began to appreciate his mistake in offending the cardinal, and sent him a new pension out of the revenues of the see of Toledo, holding out other advantages; but Wolsey refused to be propitiated. He retarded all succour to the imperial cause, and Pace was directed to urge the duke of Bourbon to raise the siege of Marseilles and march further into France; the result of which would have been the loss of the imperial army. The siege was raised on the 27th of September, but the duke retreated towards Nice. England did not invade France, and the expedition to Provence proved a failure.

The policy of Wolsey was further developed in the conferences of the Imperial, French, and English ambassadors with the Pope. Clement strove to reconcile Charles and Francis; but Wolsey gave instructions to prevent their entering into a treaty of peace, and the war continued. Milan was taken by the French, and Pavia threatened; the king of France made tempting proposals to the Pope, which, though he seems to have regretted the failures of the Emperor, he was willing to accept.

The English displayed very little interest in the struggle going on in Italy; they did not send either

money or troops; nevertheless the appearance of interest in the war was kept up, and Wolsey wrote, 12th February, 1525, to the king a favourable account of the result of his diplomacy in Italy,* in which it is clear he must have deceived himself, or been gsratly deceived by others. He represented that his negotiations in Rome were going on favourably, and anticipated that the Pope would aid the Emperor. He seems to have relied on the affection Clement had entertained for Charles; but the Pope's regard for his own interests soon got the mastery over his friendship.

The Emperor, though suffering equally from failure and defection, persevered, and having recruited his forces, marched to give battle to the French at Pavia. Wolsey still withheld the promised supplies; nevertheless the imperialists attacked the French, and Francis lost everything except honour.

Desperate as seemed now the position of the king of France, it was one out of which the shrewd, calculating, far-seeing mind of the great statesman who directed the policy of England could make the most political capital. Francis was in such extreme need of assistance that he was disposed to pay any price for it. He was sensible of the value at such a crisie of the friendly offices of the king of England's trusted counsellor, and gratefully sprung forward to meet his helping hand.

To thwart the designs of the faithless Emperor was without doubt the chief object of the political game the still-powerful minister prepared to play. Strong representations were now made to Henry

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 156.

that Charles was becoming dangerously formidable for the interests not only of England but of Europe. Similar language was used at Rome, and with a like result. The king was easily convinced of the disadvantage to his own influence likely to arise from permitting the balance of power to remain in the hands of his imperial ally, and Clement was quite as much disinclined to sanction the extinction of one of the most Catholic monarchies in Europe. His Holiness also viewed with jealousy the progress of the imperial arms. It threatened the papal dominions—he was therefore ready to add his influence to the combinations that his friend the English cardinal was dexterously forming against Charles.

All this, however, preceded the intelligence of the crushing overthrow at Pavia, when the politic Wolsey and his royal master excelled each other in the extravagance of their exultation. The latter directed that a public thanksgiving should be performed at St. Paul's, and went in state to join in the ceremonial. He also accepted the proposal of the constable Bourbon for another joint invasion of France, to set the crown of the captive monarch upon his own head. To realize this project the already hard-pressed financier was obliged to tax his invention to collect sufficient funds. It is impossible to imagine acts more illegal than were then committed to raise money, or the amount of public indignation which the fleeced and impoverished people heaped upon the king and his apparently reckless lord chancellor. Of the latter, a contemporary states:—

"All people execrated the cardinal as a sub-

verter of the laws and liberties of England; for they said, 'If men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and so England would be bound, and not free.'"*

The discontent seemed universal, and equally wide-spread the reluctance to take advantage of the helpless position of the neighbouring kingdom. Again the cardinal archbishop summoned to his awful presence the civic dignitaries, and again had the most thriving merchants and traders to stand face to face with those dreadful emblems of his temporal and spiritual power. He seemed now more despotic than ever, and having informed them of the projected invasion, imperatively demanded a sixth of their remaining property. The hitherto patient flock were extremely reluctant to be again fleeced; but the inexorable assessor at once cut short complaints and objections.

"Sirs!" he cried, with a look that indicated the sternness of his resolution, "speak not to break the thing that is concluded. The king must be able to go like a prince, which cannot be without your aid. Forsooth I think that half your substance were too little. It were better that some should suffer indigence than that the king, at this time, should lack.

"Therefore beware," he added, in a tone apparently intended to make the poor sheep tremble for their skins, "resist not, nor ruffle in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heads."

The mayor and aldermen went their way, with

* Hall, 696.

the ominous threat ringing in their ears, and a conviction in their minds that it would be acted upon if necessary. Nevertheless they, as well as the laity generally, seemed disposed to resist further exactions, while the clergy openly refused to pay any assessment not sanctioned by Convocation, when told that a fourth of their property was required. Publications appeared with unquestionably strong language, directed against the king and his minister; and inflammatory speeches were addressed to dissatisfied crowds. Presently a spirit not only of disaffection but of rebellion manifested itself in various parts of the kingdom, till Henry became alarmed, and averred that *he* would take nothing from his loving subjects except as a "benevolence."

There was not much difficulty in inducing the judges and privy council to sanction this mode of getting money; there was much more in getting the people to consent to it. The mayor and aldermen were now in milder language appealed to by the lord chancellor to subscribe a fixed sum; but the dreaded presence had evidently become less dreadful, and they excused themselves on the plea that they must consult the common council. The common council, in a similar spirit, referred the matter to the wards, and the wards boldly declared that they would give nothing.

In the provinces a spirit of resistance showed itself, even in a more resolute form, and an armed insurrection, under a captain, who was called "Poverty," and was said to have a cousin "Necessity," betrayed the public disposition. It soon was made perfectly clear that the commons would

not pay, and the odium which the commission excited all over the kingdom at last forced the king to abandon the project.

The cardinal archbishop became satisfied that as a financier he had attempted too much. Prodigious as was his spiritual power as *legate à latere*, it had succumbed, when directed against clerical purses; and enormous as had grown his temporal power as first minister of the Crown, it had collapsed when exercised upon those of the laity. He now strove hard to escape from not only a very unsatisfactory, but, in the present temper of the people, a very perilous position. He gave out that he had never advised the original demand; moreover, that entirely by his persuasion the king had abandoned the "benevolence." Few heeded his professions. As Hall has stated, "The people took all this for a mock, and said, 'God save the king: for the cardinal is known well enough.'"

It appears that all this intense exultation at the successes of the Emperor was assumed by the king of England and his confidential minister; and that the impolitic strain upon the people for supplies was not intended for an invasion of France. Charles V. was perfectly aware of what was preparing, and treated both his friends with a degree of indifference that approached contempt. The consequence was that the negotiation with France went on, till a treaty was completed, by which Francis stipulated to pay two millions of crowns, as well as an annuity of a hundred thousand, for the services of the king of England, while thirty thousand, in compensation for the see of Tournay, and an additional

hundred thousand crowns, were to be a recompense for the services of his chief counsellor.

Thus did Wolsey accomplish his projects. He supplied the royal treasury and his own, while making the faithless Emperor feel that he was not beyond the reach of his retaliation. Fortunately for him was it that he succeeded in bringing the French treaty to a conclusion, for the ill success of the last financial scheme had impaired his influence with the king. Not that the treaty was as satisfactory as it appeared, for Francis had predetermined to evade its chief provisions—just as in the case of the engagement he entered into with the Emperor, when liberated and permitted to return to France. It is impossible to exaggerate the duplicity employed in these state negotiations; and though it is not easy to modern ideas to approve of a priest using such weapons, there is not the shadow of a doubt that Wolsey could have quoted sufficient sanction in the example of his superiors, spiritual and temporal.

The Emperor, by his agents at Rome, strove to conciliate Wolsey. "The pensions to be paid from the see of Toledo," writes the duke of Sessa, 23rd February, 1524, "amount to 27,500 ducats. 4,500 ducats are not assigned to any special person: they are reserved for the cardinal of England, as indemnity for his pensions on the see of Palencia and Badajos." He waits for further instructions. "The cardinal of England," he adds, "as well as the other persons concerned in this transaction, refuses to pay one half of the *annates* which is due to the Apostolic Chamber, and it would be quite impossible to give

security on any banker in England for the payment of the pension. The English ambassador insists on it."*

This proposal was not completed; the cardinal's open opposition to the Emperor put monetary arrangements between them out of the question.

If Wolsey had a large capacity for business, he could, when he chose, put forth quite as large a capacity for pleasure. In truth, much of his influence over Henry arose from his readiness to amuse as well as to advise. York Place was often singularly lively for a prelate's residence, by the entertainments he gave there for the amusement of the court. The king delighted in masques in which he could maintain his *incognito*, and his delight was excessive whenever he succeeded in deceiving his entertainer. There is a characteristic picture of this royal pastime, preserved by an eye-witness, which, though familiar to many readers, claims a place in these pages.

"When it pleased, the King's Majesty for his recreation would repair unto the Cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year; at which times there wanted no preparations or goodly furniture, with viands of the finest sort, that might be provided for money or friendship. Such pleasures were then devised for the king's comfort and consolation as might be invented, or by man's wit imagined. The banquets were set forth with masks and mummeries in so gorgeous a sort and costly a manner that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames or damsels meet or apt to dance with the

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 604.

maskers, or to garnish the place for the time, with other goodly disports. Then was there all kind of music and harmony set forth, with excellent voices, both of men and children.

"I have seen the king," continues our authority, "suddenly come thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and fine crimson satin, and cape of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnomy, their hair and beard either of fine gold wire or of silver, and some being of black silk, having sixteen torch-bearers, besides their drums, and other persons attending on them with visors, and clothed all in satin of the same colours; and at his coming, and before he came into the hall, ye shall understand that he came by water to the water-gate, without any noise, where against this coming were laid charged many chambers, and at his landing they were all shot off, which made such a rumble in the air that it was like thunder. It made all the noblemen, ladies, and gentlewomen to muse what it should mean, coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a solemn banquet."

This was of course a surprise for the enjoyment of the courtly guests of their magnificently hospitable master of the revels.

"Then," adds the picturesque narrator, "immediately after this great shot of guns the cardinal desired the lord chamberlain and comptroller to look what this sudden shot should mean—as though he knew nothing of the matter. They thereupon looking out of the window unto Thames returned again and showed him that there should be

some noblemen and strangers arrived at his bridge as ambassadors from some foreign prince."

This was part of the paradise of dainty devices which the ingenious as well as stately host had arranged for the occasion.

"'With that,' quoth the cardinal, 'I shall desire you, because you can speak French, to take the pains to go down into the hall to encounter and to receive them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages sitting merrily at our banquets, desiring them to sit down with us, and to take part of our fare and pastime.'

"Then they went incontinently down to the hall, where they received them with twenty new torches, and conveyed them up into the chamber with such a number of drums and fifes as I have seldom seen together at one time in any mask. At their arrival into the chamber, two and two together, they went directly before the cardinal, where he sat, saluting him very reverently, to whom the lord chamberlain for them said:—

"'Sir, forasmuch as they be strangers and can speak no English, they have desired me to declare unto your Grace thus:—They having understanding of this your triumph and banquet where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, under the supportation of your good Grace, than repair thither to view so well their incomparable beauty as for to accompany them at mumchance, and then after to dance with them, and so to make their acquaintance; and, Sir, they furthermore

require of your Grace licence to accomplish the cause of their repair.' "

To this, perhaps well rehearsed, impromptu of the lord chamberlain, the cardinal answered, "I am well content ye should do so."

Permission having been given, the courtly game commenced by the new arrivals saluting all the ladies as they sat. Then some gallantry, in the form of gambling, commenced by showing a cup full of gold crowns to "the most worthiest," and setting before each of the ladies a certain sum in coin to be left to the chances of the dice; in this way sometimes winning and sometimes losing, till about two hundred crowns were left in the cup, which were cast before the host with great reverence.

"At all!" cried the cardinal, vivaciously entering into the spirit of the jest. He made a throw and won, to the immense gratification of his guests.

"Then," said the cardinal, "I pray you show them to my lord chamberlain that it seemeth to me that there should be among them some noble person whom I suppose to be much more worthy of honour to sit and occupy this room and place, than I, to whom I would most gladly, if I knew him, surrender my place according to my duty."

"Then my lord chamberlain addressed them in French, declaring my lord cardinal's mind, and they running him again in the ear, my lord chamberlain said to my lord cardinal, 'Sir, they confess that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your Grace can distinguish him from the others, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept your place most worthily.' With that the cardinal taking

a good advisement among them, at the last, quoth he, 'me seemeth the gentleman with the black beard should be even he.' And with that he arose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman with the black beard, with his cap in his hand."

This proved a mistake, the person selected being Sir Edward Neville, "a comely knight," and not unlike his sovereign. The cardinal, it may be presumed, knew what would please the king, and therefore refrained from exercising his intimate knowledge of his person. The ruse was entirely successful. Henry plucked down the visors of Sir Edward and himself, and "dashed out with such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all noble estates there assembled, seeing the king to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much." It was a *coup de théâtre*, and produced immense effect.

The noble host now entreated the king to take his place at the head of the table; but the latter desiring first to change his apparel, his majesty was ushered into the cardinal's bedchamber, where a becoming suit was ready laid out for his wearing. The same accommodation was provided for each of his companions. During this absence the hospitable board was newly furnished—the guests remaining quietly in their places till the king and his company returned in their new suits.

"Then the king took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding no man to remove, but sit still as he did before. Then came in a new banquet before the king's Majesty and to all the rest seated at the tables, wherein, I suppose," says the narrator, "were served two hundred dishes, or above,

of wondrous costly meats and devices subtilely contrived. Thus passed they forth the whole night with banqueting, dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobility there assembled."*

As dramatic entertainments these were not of great account, but nothing very much better could then be had. Heywood's interludes, very immature attempts at comedy, were produced about 1521. The vocal music with which the cardinal's masques were accompanied, gave something of an operatic character to them; but they were so deficient in invention as scarcely to deserve being classed above the popular pastime known as "mumming." Nevertheless such amusements were the natural precursors of the English drama of more than half a century later. They flourished under the patronage of the chief minister of the Crown, who chose to ignore his spiritual functions when performing the duties of host to his liberal patron.

Untiring must have been his efforts to gratify the king's fondness for courtly entertainments. Banquets and masques followed each other in rapid succession, all the gayest gallants and handsomest ladies in the court taking part in them. Dancing, singing, and music, "with excellent fine voices, both of men and children," were kept up till the ear and the eye were equally delighted. York Place was rendered wonderfully attractive to the distinguished assemblage that thronged its apartments; and especially so to the king, when the reserved

and somewhat repellent manner of his queen made its lively society peculiarly acceptable.

The letters written by Wolsey to Henry during the negotiations in behalf of Francis I., after his crowning disaster in Italy, appear to commence with a note dated 9th May, 1525, announcing the arrival of the French commissioners; but there is no evidence of a change of policy; and when this does appear, it is unquestionably one of peace: his design is to induce the Emperor to accept reasonable conditions, that his king may have in his hands the conducting of the universal peace of Christendom.* The treaty between the two sovereigns was finally concluded at Hampton Court, on 8th August, 1526.†

The persons who negotiated with the cardinal the secret treaty with France, were Joachino de Passano ("John Jokin" of Cavendish, and elsewhere styled De Vaux) and Jean Brinon, president of the parliament of Rouen. The former was kept concealed at Richmond, where Wolsey dined, and had frequent conferences with him, without attracting the observation of the lynx-eyed Spanish ambassador, till the treaty was completed. It was the suggestion of the cardinal that Francis should be liberated on giving his two sons as hostages. This was done, and the king returned to France in March, 1526, well aware how greatly he was indebted to the cardinal for his liberation.‡

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 168.

† Rymeri Fœdera, xiv. 185.

‡ Dr. Taylor to Cardinal Wolsey, Bayonne, 18th of March. Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i. 331.

The pre-Lutheran reformation, as we have described, found its centre in Oxford; the German monk, who was but an earnest assistant in the English movement, had by this time succeeded in giving it such an impulse, that wherever the Wickliffe doctrines had been accepted those of Luther were accepted also. The university which had so cordially favoured the one reformer appeared as eager to support the other; indeed, in 1521 dissent had become so general that the cardinal wrote to the authorities to select persons fit to be examiners of Luther's productions. Thereupon four learned theologians were appointed, who went to London, met the bishops at the cardinal's house, and passed a solemn condemnation on the alleged heresies; after which certain books were publicly burnt at each university: they also wrote replies to the obnoxious books—with about the same effect.

The variety of subjects the cardinal had to treat of in some of his communications to his royal master, or to his confidential servants, is shown in a letter to Sir Thomas More, written in September, 1526, in which, after due notice of the mission of the French ambassadors, he recommends the loan of an English ship to Francis at his request; then refers to the coinage of a new rose crown, and ends with a suggestion respecting the publication in Germany of the king's letter against Luther.

In a subsequent despatch, dated the 9th of October, on referring to the sack of Rome that had occurred on the 20th of the previous month, under Cardinal Colonna and Don Hugo de Moncada, he proposes that the king should grant a pension to the

Pope of 30,000 or 35,000 ducats for maintaining a papal guard of 5,000 Swiss and 400 men-at-arms, and puts forward strong arguments in its favour.*

That illustrious adventurer, the Constable Bourbon, not content with the humiliation he had inflicted on his sovereign at Pavia, had determined to bring to the same level a greater potentate. The disaster of "the Most Christian king" was followed by the complete overthrow of the Supreme Pontiff. The imperial army, after many successes in Italy, threatened the Papal States. Clement sought safety in the castle of St. Angelo, and the constable made a sudden assault upon Rome. He was killed in the desperate encounter that ensued, when his army, composed chiefly of foreign mercenaries, enraged, carried all before them, and the sacred city lay at their mercy. Rapine and plunder raged unchecked in every palace, church, and convent.

The Italian historian Guicciardini has left a powerful narrative of the horrors of that day. The conquerors were not content with inflicting, to the utmost extent, the penalty enforced against a city taken by storm; they offered every species of indignity to the most distinguished and most helpless of their captives. In that very composite force, the imperial army, there seems to have been a large Lutheran element eager to pay back the persecution with which they had been pursued by the ecclesiastical authorities now in their hands. The cardinals were special objects of retaliation, and wherever they could be caught, they were, in their dignified costume, set upon sorry asses and half-starved

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 180.

mules, with their faces to the crupper, and led in procession through the principal streets, to the intense delight of the German contingent, and probably to the secret satisfaction of the downtrodden population of the captured city.

Even the Cardinal of Sienna, an adherent of the Emperor, had his palace sacked, and his person treated with excessive indignity; for they stripped him naked, bastinadoed him as they made him pass through the streets, and insisted on his giving a second ransom for his life. The cardinals Minerva and Pouzetta suffered similar usage. Lucky were such of the members of the Sacred College as had taken refuge with the Holy Father in the strong fortress. There does not appear to have been any Englishmen among the cardinals then resident at Rome, and some of the more distinguished of the Italians were absent. Cardinal Colonna arrived the day after the catastrophe, and used his personal influence, which appears to have been great, to check the reckless spirit of outrage that prevailed.

The news reached England on the 2nd of June, 1527; but among the people generally there existed very little sympathy for the Pontiff or for Rome; indeed, the disaster seemed to be regarded as a proper termination of the enormous pretensions of the Holy See—the argument drawn from it being that if the papal system ever possessed the favour of Heaven, this evidently had been completely withdrawn.

Wolsey was a Prince of the Church, and felt himself humiliated by the indignities inflicted on his order. He was also too thoroughly the churchman not to feel the stunning blow that had been given

to the infallibility of the institution which he had all his life regarded with the most profound interest. He knew that, had circumstances favoured him at the election, he might have been in the perilous position of Clement; a knowledge, too, that his numerous personal enemies among the English laity rejoiced over the intelligence, for the annoyance it must produce in him, urged him to strain every point to rescue the fallen capital of Catholic Christendom and save the head of the Apostolic Church.

The English prelates laid aside their jealousy under this common calamity, and conferred as to their course of action. There was harmony in their counsels. They submitted to the cardinal's judgment, that the co-operation of the king was the first thing to be secured. Henry was therefore appealed to.

"Sir," implored the cardinal archbishop, "by the calling of God, you have been made Defender of the Christian Faith. Now, I beseech you, consider in what state the Church of Christ standeth. Behold the head of the Church is in captivity. See how the holy fathers have been brought into thraldom, and be without comfort. Now show yourself an aid, a defender of the Church,—and God will reward you."

The king was evidently not in the mood in which he had answered Luther's communication; the consecrated rose seemed forgotten, and his championship of the faith had lost a part of its importance.

"My lord," he replied, "I lament this cruel chance more than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am Defender of the Faith, I assure you that this war between the Emperor and the

Pope is *not* for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions. And now, since Bishop Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? Neither my person nor my people can rescue him."

This portion of the royal answer was pregnant with good sense. The war had not been for the faith; and as the Pontiff had only temporal objects in view in carrying on hostilities against the Emperor, he must take on himself the responsibility of his failure. Had the speech ended with the undeniable truth that neither the king nor his subjects could effect the Pope's liberation, the English prelates must have reconciled themselves to the disaster as they best could. But the lukewarm champion having in this significant way marked his sense of the result of his appeal to his clergy when he had required their aid, now offered something more satisfactory. "If my treasure may help the Pope," he concluded, "take that which to you seemeth most convenient."

This was all Wolsey could expect, and he presently set to work to make the most of the offer. Much less effective were his measures to assist the cause of the Holy See with spiritual weapons. He issued to all the prelates a commission to enforce prayer and fasting for the delivery of the Holy Father;* but it was not obeyed, the clergy insisting that their duty was to endeavour to induce the laity to accept this penance, not to adopt it themselves; while the laity as stoutly insisted that, as it was in the cause of a priest, it was the proper vocation of priests to set an example of fasting.

* "Hall's Chronicle," 728.

The result was that very few prayed for the unfortunate Clement, and still fewer fasted.

The lamentable condition of Rome forms the subject of another letter from Wolsey to the king, dated 2nd June, 1527, wherein he reminds his sovereign that the Pope's death or captivity would be a grave obstacle in the way of a settlement of the affairs now in hand. In a subsequent note he commends the idea of a rescue of the Pope and cardinals.

His own affairs were assuming increased importance, in consequence of the national object he had in view in their consideration. In his elevation, Wolsey never lost sight of his obligations to learning, and he wished to prove his gratitude for the means of his advancement by increasing, as far as possible, the advantages open to adventurers like himself. With this object he founded several new lectureships at the university that had accepted him as a Boy Bachelor. The Greek language, theology, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and civil law, and subsequently rhetoric and humanity, had each a new professor at Oxford; and to their liberal endowments the revival of letters was greatly indebted. John Clement and Thomas Lupset were the first of the eminent Greek scholars; Wolsey provided for his *alma mater* Richard Croke, a name equally worthy of honour. He was selected to fill the post of public orator, but preferred remaining as professor at the sister university, where the old monkish course of study was maintained, in defiance of the improvements carried out at Oxford.

The authorities of this university had written, on

7th May, 1521, a recommendation of Thomas Lupset, who had been appointed Wolsey's lecturer on rhetoric. Subsequently, appreciating his abilities, the cardinal employed him as secretary to Richard Pace when on his mission to Venice. He is said to have been at Padua, with Reginald Pole, in 1523, and afterwards was sent to Paris by Wolsey.* He died in 1531. John Ludovic Vives, a Spaniard, who was enjoying the highest reputation as a professor at Louvain, was invited by the cardinal to accept a lectureship at his college, where he shortly became still more famous as a teacher in humanity and civil law about the same period. He taught the Princess Mary Latin.

John Longland, almoner and confessor to the king, is said to have been the first churchman who, by the persuasion of the cardinal, suggested a divorce from Katherine. He became bishop of Lincoln, and died 7th May, 1547.

John Skuish, a native of Cornwall, was held in great estimation for his scholarship. He was much in the cardinal's confidence, and employed by him in offices of trust. Bale considers that he was a member of the cardinal's council; and in this is followed by Wood.† Fuller seems of opinion that he favoured the Reformation.‡

One of the many eminent scholars patronized by the cardinal was known as Johan de Coloribus, of the Black Friars, and reader in divinity in the university of Oxford. He was selected by Wolsey to carry on a controversy against Luther. ("Tract.

* Wood, "Athenæ Oxoniensis," i. 69.
† Ibid., 58. ‡ "Worthies," i. 217.

contra Doctrinam M. Lutheri," 1521.) Robert Whittington was also a celebrated teacher of Greek, Latin, and of philosophy. He wrote many things in verse and prose, in particular a poem "De Difficultate Justitiæ servandæ in Reipublica Administratione," in commendation of his patron; and a prose essay, "De quatuor Virtutibus cardinalibus." They were presented, in MS., handsomely bound, to the cardinal, and the volume is preserved in the Bodleian. They were printed by Wynkin de Worde. Many of his productions are translations.*

Munificent as were the new professorship endowments, they were subordinate to the noble scheme the cardinal then attempted to establish. This was the foundation of two new colleges,—one at the place of his birth, the other at the university where he had received his education. That for Ipswich was a most important benefaction: it was intended to be a school of the best kind, to prepare the youth of the town for a college career at Oxford; and the idea was so warmly accepted by the principal townsmen, as well as by the university authorities, that the priory of St. Peter's was given up to him in 1527 as a site for the proposed institution.

In the year 1523 the bishop of Lincoln, as the cardinal's orator, acquainted the university authorities at Oxford of his intention to found a college for two hundred students, with seven lectureships with sufficient incomes; and later in the year the canons of St. Frideswide's were compelled to make way for them. They had before this lodged where they could, but now were collected together in the

* Wood, "Athenæ Oxoniensis" (Bliss), i. 47. † Idem, 55.

ancient abbey, while their new building was in course of erection.

The cardinal paid a visit to Cambridge, partly it appears to note the state of learning in that university, and partly to search for professors worthy of belonging to his endowment. He caused continental scholars of eminence to be invited to take this service, and the fame of his noble undertaking not only brought several foreign professors, but induced many of the Cambridge scholars to go to Oxford for the superior advantages it now possessed. It seems that not learning only was introduced in this way into Oxford, but Lutheranism, or a revival of Wickliffism; and this presently became sufficiently evident. The parent establishment was at first called Cardinal College, and its accession to the endowments already established there, was marked by the enthusiastic approval of the heads of houses and dignitaries of that genuine seat of learning.* All the arrangements for the necessary buildings prove how intently Wolsey's mind had been occupied with the development of this enlightened and patriotic idea. He desired to establish a nursery of solid scholarship free from the useless pedantry that had characterized intellectual study. He was earnest in his intention to reform the teaching of the monks, if he could not effect a reformation in their way of life, and soon gave a very convincing proof of the estimation in which he held some of their houses.

The establishment at Ipswich united ecclesiastical with scholastic dignity, on the model of the many noble institutions of the kind that had been founded

* Wood, "History of the University of Oxford," ii. 27.

by churchmen. There were a dean, twelve canons, and a sufficient choir. In all respects it was intended to be a worthy rival of Eton and Winchester. While providing these invaluable advantages for his native town, he did not forget that the entire kingdom might be benefitted by an improved system of education, and sent a circular to all the masters of schools, directing them to teach what has since been styled polite literature,—*literatura elegantissima;* and as a necessary foundation recommended the general use of Lily's grammar.

The bishop of Lincoln, who was then confessor to the king, wrote an eloquent letter to Wolsey, expressing the royal approbation of the intended foundations. In the course of it he describes an interview with Queen Katherine, to whom the king had communicated the cardinal's design; and he states that she exhibited as lively an interest in it as her husband had done. There is a still more interesting letter extant of William Capon, dean of Cardinal College, Ipswich, describing the proceedings of Stephen Gardiner, Thomas Cromwell, and Dr. Lee, who had visited the establishment to make arrangements for its completion. The procession that had been formed on the opening day, though the weather was bad, collected all the principal gentlemen of the shire, who shared a handsome repast at the new college. The writer's statement respecting the choir is curious:—

"Furthermore, as for your singing men, they have been well chosen, very well breasted, with sufficient cunning for their rowmes, and some of them very excellent;" but they would not serve

for the payment offered, averring that they could get better elsewhere. They also insisted on having breakfasts in as ample and large a manner as they had in other places. He adds, "And but for Mr. Lentall we could in a manner do nothing in our choir. He taketh very great pains, and is always present at matins and all masses with evensong, and settleth the choir in good order from time to time, and faileth not at any time. He is very sober and discreet, and bringeth up your choristers very well; assuring your Grace there shall be no better children in no place of England than we shall have here, and that in short time."

Provision had been made for vestments of all proper kinds for the service of the new institution, at the expense of the founder; but there were well-wishers to it who desired that other provision should be supplied equally welcome to professors and scholars. This came in the shape of nine bucks for a feast on Ladyday. Another sent six couple of conies, two pheasants, and a dozen of quails, and the prior of Butley contributed two pheasants and a fat *crane*. Of these, one buck was given to the chamberlain of the town and the twenty-three head men, with ten shillings in money to make merry withal; the same to the bailiffs and portreves; the curates had a buck and six and eightpence for their pains and labours in the procession. In short, all Ipswich had cause to rejoice in the cardinal's munificent foundation; and a large supply of Caen stone having been procured, the building was commenced.*

There is a remarkable letter from Wolsey to the

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i.

king, written the 5th of February, 1524, in which he mentions the affair of the clerk of the market for the monastery of St. Alban's, that subsequently became one of the charges against him; and "touching certain misorder supposed to be used by Dr. Allen and other my officers in the suppression of certain exile and small monasteries, wherein neither God is served nor religion kept, which, with your gracious aid and assistance, converting the same to a far better use, I purpose to annex unto your intended college of Oxford, for the increase of good letters and virtue."* The writer describes what has been done in both cases, and adds :—

"For, Sir, Almighty God I take to my record, I have not meant, intended, or gone about, nor else have willed my officers to do anything concerning the said suppressions but under such form and manner as is, and hath largely been to the full satisfaction, recompense, and joyous contentation of any person which hath had or could pretend to have right or interest in the same, in such wise that many of them, giving thanks and laud to God for the good chance succeeded unto them, would for nothing, if they might, return or be restored, and put again into their former state, as your Highness shall abundantly and largely perceive at my next repair unto the same.

"Verily, Sir," the cardinal continues with dignity, "I would be loath to be noted, that I should intend such a virtuous foundation for the increase of your Highness's merit, profit of your subjects, the advancement of good learning, and for the weal of my

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 154.

poor soul, to be established or acquired *ex rapinis;* but, God willing, shall in such wise proceed at the perfection thereof, with[out] prejudice or derogation of any man's right or interest, that it shall appear to all the world that I am minded to set forth that act sincerely, purely, and without injury, wrong, or damage to any person."*

As early as the year 1518 the cardinal had settled the professorships for his new college at Oxford; the Greek lecture had only a few years before been introduced by the learned Grocyn. There had been some objections to his teaching the language; but Sir Thomas More having written in his favour, and the cardinal supporting him, the malcontents, who had called themselves "Trojans," and assumed the names of Priam, Hector, Paris, &c., to show their opposition to "the perfidious Greeks," were silenced.†

Wolsey laboured diligently for the advantage of the university, assisted principally by Dr. John London in collecting the privileges, and Mr. Robert Carter in arranging the statutes. The latter was, for his diligence, appointed steward of his household and one of the canons of his college.‡ Nevertheless these statutes were never completed.

The cardinal had ineffectually forbidden the importation of religious books, as many attacking the Roman Church were printed abroad and smuggled into England, where there must have been a lively demand for them. Then the king issued a pro-

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 155.

† "Thom. Morum de quibusdam Scholaribus Trojanis appellantibus." Hearne.

‡ Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford" (Gutch), ii. 17.

clamation, forbidding their introduction into the country: his majesty having, with the assistance of his counsellors, "concluded, resolved, and determined that these books ensuing—that is to say, the book entitled 'The Wicked Mammona,' the book named 'The Obedience of a Christian Man,' 'The Supplication of Beggars,'* and the book called 'The Revelation of Antichrist,' 'The Summary of Scripture,' and divers other books made in the English tongue and imprinted beyond the sea, — do contain in them pestiferous errors and blasphemies." It is insisted that whoever possesses such books shall deliver them to the bishop of his diocese or the curate, as well as translations of the Scriptures, the king having ordered a new version.†

In a dispute respecting the proctors which was referred to the cardinal, he provided two persons temporarily to fill the office till the next election, which occurred in 1522. Again, when the war with France required contributions, the university appealed to him to be excused, and were by his influence frequently exempted, on account of the small number of scholars, and consequent poverty of the

* "The Supplication of Beggars" was written by Simon Fish in 1524; it gave grave offence to the cardinal; in truth, it assailed the prelates with virulent satire. This seems to have delighted Anne Boleyn, who received a copy in 1528 and sent for the author. Wolsey complained to the king of the attacks in the book, but Fish was much noticed. The "Supplicatio" attracted the attention of Sir Thomas More, who replied to it; but the author had already repented of his proceeding, and became reconciled to the Church. He died of the plague in 1530. He had written several other works, but none that attracted so much attention.—Tanner, "Biblioth. Brit.," 280. Wood, "Athenæ Oxoniensis," i. 59.

† "Notes and Queries," vii. 422.

colleges. This arose from the shameful abuses which prevailed in the disposal of church patronage; those who had interest accumulating benefices without restriction.

The cardinal with a noble retinue attended Convocation, and made an oration full of promises of good service, apprising them that he was about to arrange for the establishing of additional lectures. Then he referred to the complaints that had been made respecting the insufficiency of the statutes, and promised, if the matter were placed in his hands, that it should be settled to their complete satisfaction. The assembly testified its acquiescence eagerly. The affair, however, having been referred to the chancellor, he demurred to surrendering the management of business so important; but when he had had time to confer with the other officers of the university, it was decided that the statutes should be placed in the cardinal's hands to correct, reform, and arrange as he should think fit.*

Wolsey's proposals for the new charter were so full and liberal in their provisions,† that the authorities and all concerned in the welfare of Oxford were extremely pleased. This, however, did not prevent a fearful disturbance, which the turbulent friars created by fighting with the proctors and their attendants. Soon after he attended the king and queen to the abbey at Abingdon, and thence to Oxford, where Katherine repaired to the ancient church of the virgin abbess Frideswide to perform her devotions. She dined at Merton College, the

* Anthony Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), ii. 15.

† 14 Henry VIII., 1523.

late warden being then the king's almoner. The queen subsequently visited other colleges and places of interest.

John Allen went from Oxford to Cambridge, where he obtained his M.A. degree. His talents had attracted the attention of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him to Rome, on a mission to the Pope, respecting the Anglican Church. There he remained for nine years, forwarding the interests entrusted to him, and not neglecting his own.* He obtained the degree of Doctor of Laws at one of the universities. On his return to England he entered the service of Cardinal Wolsey, who had known him at Oxford, and probably employed him at Rome. Dr. Allen became his chaplain, and presided at the court the cardinal held as *legate à latere*. Whether he was disap-

* By this time he had managed to secure a good many preferments. He received a title to holy orders in 1496, was deacon in 1498, and priest in 1499; was instituted to the vicarage of Chestlet in 1503. On Jan. 12, 1507, he had a benefice at Sandythe, in Kent; in 1510 he was collated to Aldyngton, which he resigned the following year for Rosebergh, in the same diocese. In 1515 he became rector of South Okynden, in Essex. He remained content till 1524, when he was appointed vicar of Alborne. Two years later he surrendered his Essex preferment to become prebendary and treasurer of St. Paul's, and rector of Galby, Leicestershire. These were the favours of the cardinal; but his liberality did not stop there; he caused Dr. Allen to be created chancellor of Ireland and archbishop of Dublin, and he had previously secured another benefice in Carnarvon and the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford. He seems only to have been thus far prosperous to make a lamentable end; having got his brains dashed out by an Irish rebel, who had taken him prisoner in 1534.—Rymeri "Fœdera," xiv. 267. Anthony Wood, "Athenæ Oxon.," ii. 76.

pointed with the papal court does not appear; but he certainly assisted his patron in dissolving those religious houses, the revenues and property of which were expended in his foundations at Ipswich and Oxford.

The suppressed monasteries were Daventry, Ravenston, Tickford, Frideswide, Littlemore, Liesnes, Tonbridge, Wicks, Snape, Sandwell, Canwell, Poghley, Thoby, Blakamore, Stanesgate, Tiptree, Hawksley, Dodnesbe, Begham, and Calceto. In 1528 a bull was obtained for suppressing ten more, including the priory of Wallingford. The king subsequently suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries.

The religious opinions that were in general favour, not only in the cardinal's, but in many other colleges, could not have been so openly advocated there without his knowledge. It is quite true that he wrote directing the authorities to seize one of the most active promoters of the long-desired, long-struggled-for Reformation; and that when a traitor was found who could be frightened into betraying his associates, he wrote again, insisting on strenuous exertions being employed for the suppression of heresy. John Clark, of his own college, the alleged chief of the sect, and many of the scholars, were subsequently seized and imprisoned in a cellar. Wolsey interfered in behalf of Taverner, the organist, and the remainder were suffered to escape with slight punishment. The cardinal was evidently averse to persecution, and probably secretly favoured the new opinions.

The monastery of St. Frideswide had been sur-

rendered to the Crown, having been dissolved by the *legate à latere*. It was presented by the king to his minister, who, however, thought it prudent to obtain the Pope's sanction to the gift. This matter having been easily arranged, the cardinal had ventured on more extensive appropriations; but an intimation of his intention was received by the clergy with a burst of indignation. They did not care for the creation of new colleges, and, like true churchmen, were averse to any diversion of church property from strictly church usages. Some ventured to assert that the cardinal archbishop was rich enough to endow any number of scholastic institutions without suppressing and plundering long-established monasteries. At last the spiritual clamour became so loud and fierce that the king cautioned moderation.

It is irrational to conclude, because some of the monks disgraced their profession, that good men were not to be found amongst them. Henry Bradshaw, a Benedictine, in St. Werberg's, Chester, who died in 1513, is thus mentioned by a contemporary:—

"Alas, of Chestre ye monkes have lost a treasure,
Henry Bradsha the styrpe of eloquence!
Chestre, thou may wayle the deth of this floure;
So may the citizens, alas! for his absence;
So may many other for lacke of his sentence.
O sweete lady Werburge, an holy abbesse glorious,
Remember Henry Bradsha, thy servant most gracious.

In him remayned no vice, ne presumpcion,
Envy and wrath from hym were exyled,
Sloth nor Venus in hym had no dominion,
Avarice and gluttony he utterly expelled;
No vyce in hym regned, his felowes he excelled,

As clere as cristal he bare these vertues thre—
Chastite, obedience, and wylful povertie."*

The cardinal had become as unpopular with the clergy as he had made himself with the laity. Few of the prelates regarded with favour the extraordinary spiritual powers with which he had been invested; and among the inferior orders there existed great dissatisfaction at the high-handed manner in which he dealt with clerical offenders. It was spitefully insinuated that what the king's necessities could not produce, he could readily obtain for his own designs. Louder complaints were made of his tyrannical dealing with the religious houses he suppressed. "With these lands," says Lord Herbert, "he endowed his colleges, which he began so sumptuous, and the scholars were so proud, that every person judged the end would not be good."†

In one instance there was open opposition. After a condemned monastery had been cleared, a riotous assemblage brought the dispossessed monks back, promising, should any one molest them, by ringing the convent bell that they should receive prompt help. For committing the outrage, however, the principals were presently seized and punished.

There is good evidence for believing that at this

* "Life of the Glorious Virgin S. Werberg." London, 1521. Bradshaw thus modestly recommends his volume:—

"If there be any thynge within this litell boke,
Pleasaunt to the audience, contentyng the mynde,
We praye all reders when they theron do loke,
To gyve thankes to God, maker of mankynde,
Not to the translatour, ignoraunt and blynde."

† "Life of Henry VIII."

time Cardinal Wolsey was an ardent reformer of abuses in the Church; this, in conjunction with the fact which began to be known, that the doctrines of Luther were taught in the new colleges, gave rise to much speculation among both his friends and his enemies. It is curious to find the king restraining him in that direction, bearing in remembrance how much further he went shortly afterwards. In his letter already referred to, Henry wrote, "Surely it is reckoned that much of the gold that buildeth the same [colleges] should not be the best acquired and gotten, reckoning it to come from many a religious house unlawfully." The royal mind entirely forgot all such scruples a few years later.

What feeling the cardinal entertained towards the new religion cannot easily be ascertained; but assuredly there was no love lost between him and Luther. In a letter the latter somewhat injudiciously addressed to the king of England, he was openly stigmatized as a monster, a public offence to God and man, a pest of the commonwealth, and the caterpillar of England. The writer paid Wolsey many other polemical compliments in a like spirit; but Henry had too recently received the consecrated rose and the title of "Defender of the Faith," to care for the great reformer's opinion of his confidential adviser. He published a sharp reply, in which, after maintaining his own orthodoxy, he entered into a defence of his minister. He referred to Luther's slander and animosity against the cardinal as not more than might have been expected from one whose impiety was equally

offensive to God and man. He acknowledged that not only himself, but his whole realm, had profited by Wolsey's wise counsels and faithful endeavours to do good service. He said, moreover, that the only effect of Luther's railing against the cardinal would be an increase in his affection towards him, "that whereas he loved him very well before, he would now favour him more than ever."*

In short, in this epistolary passage of arms, the great reformer came off second best. The king gratified not only his unpopular minister, but increased the good-feeling towards him he had established at Rome. Here, however, there was now a state of things that demanded powers to ameliorate infinitely stronger than the king of England's talent for polemics.

If in common with many intelligent Catholic prelates and distinguished scholars, Wolsey could not shut his eyes to the necessity of a reform in the Church, like the majority, he was restrained by a fear that the institution in which he was so deeply interested might suffer irretrievably by exposing its weakness. One of the most painstaking of modern historians has well described his position when the cardinal was directing the policy of Henry VIII.† No man knew better the state of religious feeling in England at this period; and there is little doubt that he made the king acquainted with it; but whatever were the ideas they shared on the subject, the capture of Rome had diverted them into a totally opposite direction. All that was most Catholic

* Godwin, 78.

† Froude, "Hist. of England," i. 99.

in Christendom had been moved to indignation at the terrible intelligence of the imprisonment of the Holy Father, the degrading treatment of the Sacred College, and the sacrilegious sacking of the reliquaries and shrines. Wolsey, therefore, laid aside his projects for removing the most crying abuses of the existing ecclesiastical system, and exercised all his influence over the king's mind to obtain substantial assistance for the Pontiff.

The interest which he had in the system he desired to amend, did, there is little doubt, interfere materially with the proper development of his reform intentions. He was a notable pluralist; with his archbishopric he retained the revenues of three of the richest sees in England, and was, moreover, abbot of that well-endowed institution St. Alban's, which has so frequently figured in these biographies. Prelates, parish clergy, and monks, who were again rivalling each other in a career of worldly enjoyment, felt secure when they observed the luxury in which their superior was living. This confidence made them intolerant in their dealings with the laity; indeed, acts of the grossest injustice were committed, and when these had excited popular indignation, the cardinal archbishop was appealed to in behalf of the offenders.

The printing-press exercised its powerful influence against the priests, and a pamphlet appeared that made a disgraceful exposure of their enormities.* It was in vain that Wolsey prohibited its circulation, —the book was in every one's hands. Pains were presently taken to secure its being read throughout

* "A Supplycacyon of the Beggers."

to the king. So far, however, from punishing the plain-writing pamphleteer, Henry took charge of the volume, desiring only that his having been made acquainted with its contents should be kept a secret.*

Satires in verse followed those in prose, till the small reading public of that age, and the larger thinking public, were made familiar with the evil. Wolsey was aware of the powerful impression these attacks were making, but had no power to remove it, or, rather, he found the power he possessed insufficient for the purpose. His mind must have been in a state of conflict between a desire to avoid giving offence to the papal government and a conviction that the state of things complained of demanded a remedy. He waited for the Pontiff's authority to reform. This there was an insurmountable obstacle to his using, should he receive it, in the unrepealed laws that forbade Englishmen from exercising any such commission from Rome. The difficulties that surrounded the subject caused him to hesitate, till the time for interfering with wholesome effect had gone by. Then a more vital question began to be discussed, which profoundly affected his position at both courts.

A striking illustration of the state of religious feeling throughout the country was its general indifference to the condition of the Papacy. Remembering how often England had been excited from John o'Groats to the Land's End by the policy of the court of Rome, and recalling numberless

* Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," &c.

exhibitions of popular enthusiasm for the old religion, such apathy as to the fate of the imprisoned Pope and outraged cardinals is the more remarkable. It shows, however, that the prolonged course of intolerable exactions and reckless despotism of papal officials had not been forgotten.

Charles V. was an adversary apparently far too powerful for one cardinal to contend against, now that he had tumbled into the dust the entire College; nevertheless, Wolsey prepared for the unequal conflict. His first resource was the king, and he had studied his nature too long and well not to know with what arguments he could appeal to him with success. Vanity was his special weakness, and the prospect of re-arranging the map of Europe with particular advantage to himself, was to him extremely alluring. There was to be a coalition against the Emperor. and the Venetians and the French were to unite with the English to liberate the Father of Christendom and drive the imperialists out of Italy. No one was so fit to arrange this combination as the king's confidential minister, the shrewdest diplomatist, the ablest statesman in Europe; and nowhere could the negotiations be carried on with such facility as in Paris. The king, therefore, was persuaded to send him on a special embassy with extraordinary powers. The mission embraced many objects, some of a rather startling character. Among them appears to have been an intention to create a new Papacy in France, with Wolsey at its head.*

* Sharon Turner, ii. 121.

CHAPTER VII.

THOMAS WOLSEY, CARDINAL LEGATE.

His Extraordinary Embassy to France—His Letter to the King describing his Progress through Kent—The King's "Secret Matter"—Interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester—The Hungarian Ambassadors—Calais—The Cardinal's Entry into Boulogne—Abbeville—His Reception at Amiens—The French Court—Meeting of Francis and the Cardinal—The Negotiations—The Queen Mother favours the Cardinal—His Secret Communications with Rome—Royal Devotions—Wolsey takes leave of Francis—The French Ambassadors in England—Banquet at Hampton Court—The Cardinal's Plate—The Subtleties—Parting Gifts—Latin Play—The Cardinal and the Alderman's Widow—Anne Boleyn and Lord Percy—Infatuation of the King——His Desire for a Divorce—Case of Necromancy.

THE extent to which the pride and ambition of the English envoy were appealed to by all the great parties in the quarrel, very much exceeded all former attempts of the same kind. The Emperor becoming aware of what was intended against him, by the most conciliatory professions attempted to make up his quarrel with the Pontiff, while he opened a secret correspondence with his former friend, offering that his powers as legate should extend through the whole of Germany. The Pope bid still more extravagantly for his good offices, for he agreed that the cardinal should be appointed vicar over all England, France, and Germany. Although

Wolsey had twice failed in his attempt to grasp the tiara, here was one fresh and bright, giving authority greater than some of the Avignon popes had been able to exercise.

All his grand designs having been carefully matured, on the 3rd July, 1527, the ambassador extraordinary proceeded with a retinue of two thousand noblemen and gentlemen, handsomely mounted, and splendidly apparelled in black velvet. Harbingers were sent in advance to make arrangements at his halting-places, and a prodigious guard of yeomen, well armed, wearing the cardinal's livery, embroidered with the hat and tassels, guarded the sumpter mules and carriages. In the centre of this magnificent cavalcade came the now well-known silver crosses and pillars, followed by a well-appointed bearer of the equally familiar hat. Then came the mule in its crimson velvet trappings and gilt stirrups, and on it rode the cardinal through the principal thoroughfares of the city, taking his way out of London, to proceed on his important mission.

The king's instructions,* as well as Wolsey's commission as ambassador extraordinary, were signed 18th June, 1527. He wrote, however, to Henry on the 21st, recommending a little delay, as Francis was much occupied. Before his departure, he indited a confidential communication respecting the king's "secret matter"—that is, the divorce, which he seems afraid has come to the queen's knowledge. He calls God to witness that there is nothing on earth he covets so much as its advancement, refers to the queen's "stiffness" on the

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 191.

subject; but recommends, till the decisions of the king of France and the Pope are known, that she should be handled gently and doucely.*

The cardinal-ambassador started on his mission early in July, 1527, and at Faversham wrote the king a long account of his journey, describing his progress through the city, and the public demonstrations of favour and sympathy with his mission he received from the citizens. He lodged the first night at the house of Sir John Wiltshire, near Dartford, where he was joined by the archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Warham), with whom he conversed on "the secret matter." How the knowledge of the king's intention had reached the queen seems greatly to have surprised the primate, and he suggested that her majesty should be made to declare who had been her informant. The primate promised to follow the cardinal's instructions as to his conduct, in case Katherine should require his advice. They then conferred on the condition of Rome, which Wolsey acknowledged was the primary object of his present embassy.

He states that he arrived on Thursday at Rochester, where he lodged at the episcopal palace, and was right lovingly and kindly entertained by the bishop. With his lordship he also had a confidential communication respecting the state of the Church, and also respecting the queen. The bishop, on being questioned, acknowledged that he had recently received a message from her majesty, intimating her wish to consult him, and that he had answered he was ready to give her counsel

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 194.

respecting herself only. He was then desired to speak frankly, and state whether he knew the business on which he was to be consulted, and he confessed he had heard that it was about a divorce intended by the king. Then the cardinal swore him to secrecy, and confided to him the king's intentions, as well as his doubts regarding the papal dispensation, as first suggested by the bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, when in a manner questioning the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. The result of a long conference was, according to the cardinal's report, that the bishop acquiesced in the king's views.

The magnificent spectacle had lost the charm of novelty, and the hero of it had dropped from his elevation in public opinion; nevertheless it brought together the customary crowd of admiring spectators. Much speculation must have been afloat in men's minds, as to the object of this imposing embassage; and though the cardinal may not have been satisfied that his countrymen regarded his departure from amongst them with any particular regret, he must have been content with the curiosity he and his cavalcade excited.

In this order they journeyed through the pleasant county of Kent, till they reached its capital. Wolsey's progress had been through the see of his brother primate; but he had long been supreme in ecclesiastical matters everywhere, and at Canterbury was as much so as at York. Here he alighted from his mule, and walked in solemn procession to the abbey of Christchurch. He passed into the venerable building, and at the door of the choir leant on

a cushion during the chanting of a litany praying for the assistance of the Virgin in behalf of Pope Clement; and one of his suite testifies that he wept very tenderly at the recollection of the Holy Father's misfortunes.*

Between Sittingbourne and Faversham, he was overtaken by Jerome à Lasco, an ambassador from the king of Hungary, who, in his master's name, asked assistance from the king of England against the Turks, and conferred with Wolsey respecting other important affairs. A despatch was written by the ambassador at Faversham on the 5th of July. On the 8th he added a short note from Canterbury, and continued to report the loyalty and prosperity of the people of Kent. In this he refers to enclosed letters for the royal signature, for requesting that the cardinals absent from Rome at the capture of the city should meet the writer in France, to consult for the better ordering of the Church. He wrote another letter of the same date, announcing that the king of France was to meet him at Amiens, urging also the assembling of the cardinals; and adds the latest intelligence from Italy.

On the 10th, while at Dover, he acknowledged with cordial thanks the gift of a fat buck, killed by the king, which the royal sportsman had sent after him. The following morning, at three, he embarked, and at nine entered Calais, where he met with an honourable reception from the English governor. The cardinal describes the place as in a discreditable condition; and the garrison appear to have been quite as much neglected as the city. Now

* Cavendish.

"the secret matter" begins to take action in the shape of counteracting intrigues on the part of the queen. Dr. Knight writes to the ambassador extraordinary, on the 15th of July, communicating a little plot of Katherine's to get one of her attendants sent off to Spain, ostensibly to visit his mother, "which is very sore sick." His majesty chooses to counterplot, and directs Wolsey to cause the man to be secretly arrested, and detained as he passes through France, and if he should go by sea, to have him watched when he arrived in Spain.

Wolsey was detained at Calais, but reports the king of France's approval of the design of assembling the cardinals, and announces that he has received an intimation that he is to travel through Picardy to meet Francis at Amiens. On the 18th he reports the arrival of messengers to arrange his journey, and on the following day expresses his readiness to fulfil the king's instructions respecting the secret arrest of the queen's sewer; but suggests to prevent his going by sea, by which he might succeed in reaching the Emperor and doing no slight amount of mischief—that he should be sent with despatches to him (the cardinal) when he could be stopped without exciting suspicion.

Wolsey at last commenced his journey; and having been met by the cardinal of Lorraine and other dignitaries, with a retinue of 1,000 horsemen, he entered Boulogne amid great rejoicings, display of pageants, and discharge of ordnance. The last portion of the compliment proved the least gratifying, as the guns frightened the cardinal's mule. He states that Francis had sent him authority in all

places through which he might pass, to release and pardon prisoners, whatever may have been their offence.*

On the 24th the ambassador describes his honourable progress to Abbeville, where he found more pageants and heard more complimentary orations. Francis had been detained at Paris by the proceedings that were now commenced against the dead traitor, the duke of Bourbon. On the 29th the ambassador wrote again from Abbeville, announcing the intention of the Emperor to carry the Pope to Spain. To this he expresses grave objections. Among them is an apprehension that the Apostolic See would be transferred to that country. He acknowledges the receipt of intelligence from Rome of a character likely to create the most lively commiseration for the miserable condition of the Church. He adds:—

"I also have received by the hands of the said Monsieur Gregory, not only from the Pope's Holiness, similar letters written with his own hand—*plenas lacrimarum et miserie*—but also from all the cardinals being in captivity, and from the most part of them that be absent, the reading whereof hath not only moved me to great sorrow and heaviness, but also so inflamed my heart, that for the reparation of the said calamities I am and shall be ready to expose my life and blood."†

He then again refers to the honourable treatment he received daily, and writes another communication

* Rymeri "Fœdera," xiv. 202.

† "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 228. These letters of the distressed Pope and cardinals are in the British Museum.

of the same date, dilating on "the secret matter," as well as the difficulty in the way of establishing peace, in consequence of the Emperor's exorbitant demands. He expresses an opinion that the Pope will accede to the king's wishes, and offers to go to Avignon to meet the cardinals, where he may be within a convenient distance for communicating with the Emperor; and then suggests his proceeding to Perpignan to have a meeting with him and the French king's mother, stating that if Charles would not be reasonable, he should then be able to take effective action with the cardinals at Avignon, in the way of protest against following the papal directions while his Holiness remained in captivity.

Wolsey remained at Abbeville till the 3rd of August, when he proceeded with part of his retinue to Péquigny, and on the following day went on to Amiens, where Francis, his mother, the queen of Navarre, and the French court had arrived. Here his reception was still more flattering, and the cardinal dwells on the attentions he received, with evident satisfaction. At great length he repeats the grateful professions of the king of France for the good offices of the king of England; not forgetting a desire expressed by Francis to have the writer for his counsellor.

Cavendish thus describes the rencontre of the king of France and the English ambassador:—

"Then was word brought him that the king was coming to encounter him, wherefore he had no other shift but to light at an old chapel that stood hard by the highway, and there he new apparelled himself into richer apparel, and so mounted again upon

a new mule very richly trapped, with a footcloth altogether of crimson velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about the edges with gold fringe very costly, his stirrups of silver and gilt, the bosses of the same, and the cheeks of his mule's bit were all gilt with fine gold."

The king of France was now seen on a hill surrounded by a stately retinue, and the cardinal hastened towards him, but came to a halt at a short distance. Francis sent one of his attendants to ascertain why the ambassador waited. The gentleman rode up to the English cavalcade, causing his horse to rear in the highest style of French equitation, then alighting, delivered his message with becoming humility, and having obtained his answer returned in like manner. The king now advanced; the cardinal did the same, and meeting midway they embraced "with amiable countenance and entertainment." Seeing this the French retinue mingled with the English with similar cordiality.

The king, with Wolsey on his right hand, returned to Amiens—every Frenchman taking an Englishman for his companion. The procession was at least two miles in length; and, amid the discharge of ordnance and the acclamations of the inhabitants, Francis conducted the ambassador to his lodgings. Splendid pageants had been prepared in the town, and everything done to gratify its visitors. After this he passed nearly the whole of the next day in writing despatches.

He does not fail to mention the pageants in which he was introduced in his habit as a cardinal, fulfilling the character of a peacemaker; but

his eloquence is more strikingly displayed in his description of the apartments Francis had caused to be furnished for his use. The Cardinal Lorraine conducted him to his lodgings, which, he says,—

"I found richly and pompously apparelled with the French king's own stuff—as the outer chamber with rich cloth of tissue and silver, paved, embroidered with freres knots, wherein was a great and large cloth of estate, of the same stuff and sort. The second chamber was apparelled with crimson velvet embroidered, and replenished with large letters of gold of F. and A., crowned with another very large cloth of estate of fine arras. And the third chamber being my bedchamber was apparelled with rich cloth of tissue raised, and a great sparner and counterpane to the same; and the fourth being as a closet was hanged with cloth of baudkin, whereunto was annexed a little gallery hanged with crimson velvet."*

Hardly had the ambassador taken advantage of these pleasant quarters, when the Cardinal de Bourbon, the Duc de Vendôme, with other prelates and noblemen, arrived to conduct him to the queen's apartments in the bishop's palace, where he met the queen of Navarre, Renata, the sister-in-law of Francis, the duchess of Vendôme, and other royal and noble ladies, by whom he was affectionately embraced and kissed, as well as the principal members of his embassy — especially Edmund Stanley, earl of Derby, "whom it liked her grace to kiss and right lovingly to welcome." Then he was ushered into her majesty's private chamber, and

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 239.

honoured with a confidential conference, which lasted so long that it was eight o'clock in the evening before he could get back to his lodgings.

The Emperor's ambassador found his way to him a morning or two afterwards, to whom Wolsey expressed his desire for a reduction of the imperial demands. This interview was interrupted by a summons to attend the king, and the ambassador at once proceeded to the great chamber, where his majesty lay on a couch surrounded by persons of distinction of both sexes, nursing one of his legs, which from a recent hurt gave him considerable pain; nevertheless he went with the cardinal and the queen-mother into an inner chamber, where he received the king of England's letters and messages. A great deal was said in the first place about the proposed union of the Princess Mary with the Dauphin, to which, according to the ambassador's rather flowery report, no man could be more cordially inclined; but it soon became apparent that, notwithstanding that his children were hostages, he was for recommencing hostilities with the Emperor, and that he regarded the English alliance only as a means for an accession of martial strength. Finding his ideas not favourably received, he asked the cardinal's advice, who appears to have given it liberally.

Other conferences followed—Francis always appearing as wax in the hands of the astute negotiator. There seems to have been an intention of having another Field of the Cloth of Gold; but this was abandoned, as the sum required for the ransom of the king's sons made the expense a consideration. At Amiens they remained two months—the cardinal

having frequent negotiations with the king; when they removed to another city about forty miles off, where they continued their confidential meetings. Wolsey was also in constant communication with his principal ministers, and appears to have become so angry with the chancellor, Antoine de Prat, subsequently a cardinal, for his opposition on one occasion, that no one was able to pacify him but the king's mother. Extraordinary concessions were now made, "he had the heads of the council so under his girdle."*

It appears that in the discussions that took place between the ambassador and the council, the chancellor opposed his propositions with such pertinacity that Wolsey answered him sharply. The queen mother, hearing of this contention, at the next meeting entered suddenly, and thus addressed the most disputatious of the assembly with "a right severe countenance":—

"Ye be men that have more knowledge in merchandise than in the nobility and high courage of prince's hearts and affections. I assure you, if the king, my son, were here, he would give you little thanks for your sticking; for I know well, not doubting that you, my Lord Cardinal, do the same, that he most inwardly coveteth and desireth to be kept perpetually with the King of England, his good brother, to whom he recognizeth himself to be so much indebted and obstrict (bounden) that none of these your difficulties shall be the stop or let of this desired conjunction."†

* Cavendish. Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography."

† "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 252.

At this moment Francis entered and endorsed his mother's opinion more emphatically, with tears in his eyes, and every outward sign of sincerity; and the cardinal was impressed by his manner into the belief that the peace for which he had laboured was in fair prospect of becoming an established fact.

The next letter contained the startling intelligence that the Archduchess Margaret had acquired knowledge of the king's secret matter, and had dismissed the English ambassador; moreover that in all probability it was known to the Emperor, to defeat whose intrigues at Rome to prevent the Pope giving his consent, Wolsey urges that an embassy should be sent immediately to Rome.

He adds, "And I have set forth such practices, not sparing for offering of money, that by one means or other there is great appearance that one of those I purpose to send for the said expedition shall have access unto the Pope's person, to the which, if they, or any of them may attain, there shall be all possible ways and practices set forth for the obtaining of the Pope's consent, as well in the convocation of cardinals and administrators *rerum ecclesiasticarum durante captivitate sua*, as making of protestations and granting of other things which may confer and be beneficial to your Grace's purpose."*

On the 16th of August, the cardinal apprised Henry that he had been invited to hear evensong with the king of France at the cathedral church. He was conducted by the grand master to the royal chamber, where Francis met and saluted him, by taking off his bonnet, with loving countenance and

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 254.

manner, and together they passed through the church and choir to the great altar, where two traverses and chairs had been prepared, the one on the right hand for the king, the other on the left for the cardinal; the first composed of rich cloth of tissue, tucked up so that his majesty could be seen at his devotions by his subjects. But this edifying spectacle appears to have been soon interrupted by the desire of the king to talk politics; and they conferred on the affairs of Italy, the liberation of the imprisoned Pope, the restoration of the French princes, and the establishment of peace.

It was then and there arranged that the war against the Emperor should be carried on with increased vigour, while larger offers should be made to induce him to consent to a peace. Having come to this understanding, Francis proposed an interchange of orders between Henry and himself. Taking off the collar of St. Michael, he said, "Now that we are united in our hearts, it would be as well if we were knit together neck and knees," meaning that his own order ought to be on Henry's neck, and Henry's garter round his leg.

Towards the conclusion of his despatch, the ambassador assures his master that the French king will not enter into any arrangement prejudicial to English interests, and that Henry may regard his own treaty as concluded. He adds that he has deferred "the secret matter" till he is on the point of departure, when he intends "to handle it in that cloudy and dark sort, that he shall not know what is intended."*

* State Papers.

On the 19th Wolsey wrote again, declaring that the treaties for a perpetual peace between the kings of France and England had been ratified and confirmed by Francis and himself in the cathedral church of Amiens, amid demonstrations of universal rejoicing; then he forwards news just received from Italy, which is extremely prejudicial to the Emperor. He states that everything looks so favourable that Henry may now be condignly entitled and called "Pacis Auctor—Patrie Pater—et Ecclesie ac Libertatis Restitutor." He announces the departure of Francis on a pilgrimage, attended by his court, except the high officers of his kingdom, who have been left to confer with him as to what should be done on behalf of the Church.

On the 24th, he forwarded another despatch respecting the state of affairs in Italy, as well as a second letter (holograph) averring that he shall think evey day a year till he shall again meet his master. It concludes, "Written with the rude and shaking hand of your most humble subject, servant, and chaplain."

A long paper followed, September 5th, respecting the negotiations in progress. We need only refer here to the proposed assembly of the cardinals at Avignon, which, though the English ambassador with the sanction of the king of France, promised to disburse their expenses, "because divers of them be poor," they declined, alleging that the Pope had bound them to remain in Italy. He recommends that Secretary Pace's intended mission to the imprisoned Pope be deferred, and suggests the employment of the bishop of Worcester and

other negotiators, they being more likely to obtain access to his Holiness.

That Wolsey did not miss any opportunity of advancing the king's secret matter, may be gathered from another paragraph, where he states that he has had long and secret conferences with the dean of the Rotà, and got him to change his opinion; he now expressly affirming that the Pope's dispensation is clearly void and nought; in support of which, the cardinal adds, "he has written a great book right substantially, and clerkly handled, furnished plenteously with the decrees and authority of the law," and offers to come to England, to support what he has therein advanced. From this proceeding the writer anticipates the most favourable results for the king, if he will have a little patience.

He then announces that the Pope had been taken to Gaeta, in consequence of the pestilence raging in Rome, which had created great ravages in the Spanish army. He expresses an opinion that the Emperor will not lessen his demands, and intends to keep the Pontiff in Spain. He recommends that his Holiness should be intercepted at sea.

On the 13th he communicates from Compiegne, where he went to take his leave, his acquiescence in the king's desire to send Secretary Pace to Rome; and after expressing warm acknowledgments of certain most loving, eloquent, and excellently indited letters, in his majesty's own hand, which he intends to preserve and keep for a perpetual monument and treasure, proposes to take his departure on the 16th or 17th. On the 21st he writes from Boulogne, describing the ceremony of his leave-taking of the

king and the French court—Francis, many of the nobility, the prelates, legate, and cardinals accompanying him a mile on his way on quitting Compiegne. He adds the latest foreign news. There is no more correspondence extant from the ambassador extraordinary, who seems to have been perfectly content with the result of his mission; nevertheless, Charles V. shortly afterwards published a declaration of war against the king of England, whose secret matter does not appear to have been in the least expedited by Wolsey's negotiations.

He had recommended himself to the French court by giving costly entertainments, and his minstrels were greatly approved of by the king. One of them, who played admirably on the shalme (cornet) —for he seems to have over-exerted himself—was taken ill and died. Afterwards there was hunting the boar in the forest, in which one of the cardinal's young gentleman, Mr. Ratcliff, distinguished himself by killing the formidable animal with a thrust of his spear.

Notwithstanding this interchange of compliments, there seems to have been no real cordiality on the French side. The ambassador was constantly robbed; moreover, was insulted by a representation on one of his windows, of a cardinal's hat surmounted by a gallows. On receiving letters from England, he hastened his departure, returning by the same route, and with the same stateliness.

It was arranged that the terms of the treaty should not be circulated or published in either France or England, nor should sanction be given to

the assembling of a general council. In ecclesiastical matters France was to be governed by the king and his prelates; in England they were to be left to the cardinal, assisted by convocation. A marriage was arranged between the Princess Mary and the duke of Orleans. The king of England renounced all right to French territory claimed by his ancestors; and the king of France agreed to pay him an annuity of 50,000 crowns, in addition to what was due. Both sovereigns were to declare war against the Emperor, unless he set the Pope free. A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into between the high contracting parties.

The king wrote a most affectionate letter to the cardinal while he was in France, commencing, "Mine own good cardinal," warmly thanking him for his important services, and acknowledging the wisdom with which he had conducted the affairs placed under his management. He adds, "The queen, my wife, hath desired me to make her most hearty commendations to you, as to him that she loveth very well, and both she and I would know fain when you would repair unto us."*

During Wolsey's absence his enemies had been busy with his reputation, and his reception at court on his return evinced a decline of influence; nevertheless he called an assemblage of all the noblemen and legal dignitaries in the Star Chamber, and announced the result of his recent negotiation, which, according to his account, was very glorious to England. It was not till the 20th of October, 1527, that an embassy from France arrived in this country to

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i. 269.

ratify the treaty Wolsey had arranged, and confer the order of St. Michael on King Henry. There was a grand ceremony at St. Paul's on this occasion, the king and the embassy being present. The cardinal performed a solemn mass in the cathedral, assisted by twenty-four bishops and abbots, and divided the sacrament between the king and the French ambassador as a perpetual covenant of peace between the two countries. The mass having concluded, the cardinal publicly read the treaty; and before the entire assemblage the king sealed and signed, and delivered it as his act and deed to the ambassador of Francis—the ambassador then giving the king the counterpart.

After this ensued much feasting and hunting at Greenwich, Richmond, and Windsor; and such a banquet was given to the embassy by the cardinal at Hampton Court, as astonished the Frenchmen by its magnificence. We should be doing injustice to that model of gentlemen ushers were we to attempt to describe the scene in other words than his own. First, as to the display of plate, which was the special admiration of the guests:—

"Then was there a cupboard in length as broad as the chamber, with six desks of height garnished with gilt plate, and the nethermost desk was garnished all with gold plate, having with lights one pair of candlesticks of silver and gilt, being curiously wrought, which cost three hundred marks, and standing upon the same, two lights of wax burning as big as torches to set it forth. The cupboard was barred round almost, that no man could come nigh it; for there was none of all this

plate touched in the banquet, for there was sufficient besides."*

The dinner had exhausted the skill of the cardinal's master-cooks and confectioners; and while the guests feasted they were so entertained with exquisite music from the minstrels that they "were rapt into a heavenly paradise." They had, however, to commence without the presence of their magnificent host.

"Before the second course my Lord Cardinal came in booted and spurred all suddenly among them, and bade proface [profaccio—"much good may it do you!"], at whose coming there was great joy, with rising every man from his place. Whom my said lord caused to sit still, and keep their rooms; and being in this apparel as he rode, he called for a chair and sat down in the midst of the high table, laughing, and being as merry as ever I saw him in my life. Anon came on the second course with many dishes, subtleties, and devices, about a hundred in number, which were of so goodly proportion and costly device that I think the Frenchmen never saw the like. The wonder was no less than it was worthy in deed. There were castles, with images in the same. Paul's Church for the quantity as well counterfeited as the painter should have painted it on a cloth on a wall. There were beasts, birds, fowls, and personages, most likely made and counterfeited—some fighting with swords, some with guns and crossbows, some vaulting and leaping, some dancing with ladies, some on

* Cavendish. An inventory of the cardinal's collection of plate may be seen in Gutch, "Collectanea Curiosa."

horses in complete harness, jousting with long and sharp spears, with many more devices than I am able to describe. Among all, one I noted. There was a chessboard made with spiced paste, with men thereof to the same, and for the good proportion, and because the Frenchmen be very cunning and expert in that play, my Lord Cardinal gave the same to a gentleman of France, commanding there should be made a goodly case for the preservation thereof, in all haste that he might convey the same safe into his country."

So much for the eating, now for the drinking.

"Then took my lord a bowl of gold filled with hippocrass, and putting off his cap aside, said, 'I drink to the King, my sovereign lord; and next, unto the King your master!' and therewith drank a good draught; and when he had done he desired the Grand Master* to pledge him cup and all—the which was worth five hundred marks—and so caused all the board to pledge these two royal princes. Then went the cups so merrily about that many of the Frenchmen were fain to be led to their beds."

The king subsequently entertained the embassy with another sumptuous masque and banquet at Windsor. After taking leave of his majesty, they repaired to the cardinal at Westminster, and received from him gifts. Every man of honour and estimation had plate to the value of three or four hundred pounds and more; some had received from the king velvet gowns trimmed with fur, gold chains, and valuable horses; the least important having an

* Anne de Montmorency, Chief of the Embassy.

ounce of gold, and the pages twenty crowns apiece. Having been thus handsomely treated they returned home.

At the new palace at Hampton Court, the ambassador and suite had been so sumptuously entertained as to excite their astonishment. One of them, the historian Du Bellay, dwells with rapture on the silk hangings of the two hundred and fourscore beds, on the innumerable vessels of silver and gold, and the splendour of the general decorations. During the stay of the embassy they were entertained with a Latin play spoken by children. The story commenced with the imprisonment of the Pope, and the detention of the sons of the French king as hostages, and ended with the restoration of peace in Christendom, through no less a *deus ex machinâ* than the cardinal archbishop. He was of course present, and doubtless felt the intended compliment.

This was followed by a masque, wherein danced a select number of the nobility of both sexes, including the king. All the most distinguished members of the court were present in splendid apparel, in which they rivalled the display made by the French ambassador and his brilliant retinue, to whom the series of performances gave the most lively satisfaction. Nothing could be more clear than the *entente cordiale* had been completely established between the two nations.

Among the letters of Sir Thomas More to the cardinal there is one that is a very curious illustration of social life at this period. He writes by the king's direction to inform him that an alderman

of the city of London, Master Marfyn, had gone to a better world. He wishes Sir William Tyler to marry the widow, and directs that the cardinal's wisdom and dexterity should be exercised to bring the union to pass—and so confer on him "a right special pleasure."* This was a common practice of the king. When a wealthy citizen died, some poor courtier was sure to appeal to the monarch for his relict—in other words for his fortune; and Henry not unfrequently would write to her a pressing recommendation of him as a candidate for her hand. There are several of his letters to this effect extant.

By this time there was an additional source of anxiety to the many that came *ex officio* under the consideration of the king's confidential minister. Henry was gay and handsome, fond of courtly amusements, especially in the society of the beauties of the court; but he had hitherto refrained from any exhibition of licentiousness. His queen was much older than himself, reserved, haughty, and indisposed to cheerfulness. She was rather an unpleasant contrast to the attractive dames and damsels whose companionship the king found more and more attractive. There was one of the queen's maids of honour whom he regarded with special, and shortly with tender attention—this was Anne, the younger daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn; the had in the year 1527 returned to England with French graces added to those with which she had been amply endowed by nature.

In the days of her obscurity Anne Boleyn ad-

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i. 207.

dressed two letters to the cardinal, and the humility of their tone shows how eager she was then to beg for his patronage. One written in the autumn of 1528 thanks him for his kind letter and rich and costly present. She acknowledges that all the days of her life she shall be most bound of all creatures to love and serve his Grace; and beseeches him never to doubt that she will vary from this thought as long as breath is in her body.* The other communication is equally eloquent of assurances of regard.

That Anne Boleyn did her utmost to gain the cardinal's favour at her first introduction to the court is evident in a letter to him from Thomas Heneage:—"Mistress Anne is very well amended, and commandeth her humbly towards your Grace, and thinketh long till she speak with you." † Wolsey did not value her blandishments, and appears to have entertained an accurate estimate of her character, for, instead of forwarding her views on the king, he endeavoured to lead him into an alliance that would have insured him important political advantages. Henry, however, was infatuated, and resisted every attempt to direct his affections elsewhere. It was the knowledge of the cardinal's designs in this direction that exasperated this thoroughly unprincipled woman.

He had been long aware of the incompatibility of temper of the king and queen, had heard the former's frequent complaints of her not bringing him male offspring, had even listened to his doubts of the

* Dr. Fiddes, "Life of Wolsey," 204-5.

† "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 289.

legality of his marriage, she being his brother's widow; but when he spoke of getting freed from her for the purpose of marrying her maid of honour, Wolsey expatiated on the impolicy of a sovereign uniting himself with a subject. He had not repelled the idea of a divorce, for one of the most confidential of the secret matters with which he had conferred with the French king was the possibility of a union between Henry and the sister of Francis I.

The king's desire for it increased, and with it increased his inclination to regard his marriage with Katherine as illegal. He determined to obtain the Pope's assistance towards setting this aside, and as a means to that end wrote a book advocating his right to a divorce, and laid it before Sir Thomas More, who shrewdly evaded incurring the responsibility of giving an opinion on the subject. The cardinal finding arguments fruitless, professed acquiescence, and prepared communications to Clement with the purpose of securing his assent to the king's wishes.

Scarcely had the Pope completed arrangements by which he obtained his liberty, when he found himself obliged to attend to an embassy from the king of England, requiring him to do what he had bound himself by treaty not to do—the Emperor having insisted that he should perform no act prejudicial to the rights of his kinswoman, Queen Katherine. He did not desire a visit from a second imperial army; nevertheless he read the king's book and signed the papers that had been prepared for his signature.

He was now required to commission a second

legate to proceed to England to assist the cardinal archbishop in the management of this difficult case. It seems to have been a project of Wolsey to enable him, with the assistance of one of the Roman ecclesiastics, to gain time; but Clement did not see the necessity of a coadjutor, and, after apparently sanctioning the application, directed the case to be decided by the English cardinal. This proceeding the latter advised the king not to sanction; and on receiving a more urging request, Cardinal Campeggio was named as the additional legate. He was the bearer of a bull which should prevent any appeal to Rome after the decision of the two judges had been pronounced. Clement had by this time been made cognizant of the opinions of Wolsey on the entire case; and having given them more careful consideration, and well regarded the interest taken by the Emperor in the troublesome business, was not disposed to forward the divorce more than he could help. He is said to have expressed a readiness to grant the king a dispensation to have a second wife, as well as insinuated that the difficulty might be got rid of by the demise of his queen.*

* Queen Katherine obtained active assistance from her chaplain, an able scholar and a zealous churchman—Thomas Abel. He preached in her behalf and wrote treatises against the divorce with which she was threatened, then intrigued to give publicity to the imposture of the Maid of Kent, to create disaffection, and, finally, denied the king's supremacy, for which he was tried and condemned—suffering the barbarous punishment of hanging, drawing, and quartering, 30th of July, 1540. "Vir longe doctissimus, qui reginæ aliquando in musicarum arte et linguis operam suam noverat."—Bouchier, "Hist. Eccles. de Martyrio fratr. Ord. Minor. D. Francisci."

The king acquainted the cardinal with his passion for Anne Boleyn; Wolsey was aware at the time that the young lady had a suitor in his attendant, the youthful Lord Percy. Cavendish states that Henry desired his minister to put a stop to the intimacy, and that he represented her position and prospects to the heir of Northumberland; but that the latter pressed his own claims with such vehemence that Wolsey was obliged to command him to refrain from any communication with her till he had conferred with his father. The earl came to town, visited York Place, and had a private conference with the owner, after which he sent for his son, and having before the cardinal's household scolded him for his extravagance, commanded him to obey the king and the cardinal, and then went his way. Lord Percy was induced to marry a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, greatly to the displeasure of Anne Boleyn, who from that time made use of the king's affection for her, only to undermine the influence of his minister. There were persons about the court, especially those heads of noble families who had regarded Wolsey's superiority with ill-concealed disdain, who eagerly took advantage of this grudge, as Cavendish calls it; and presently a party was formed, whose bond of union was a desire to effect his destruction; nevertheless, they were forced to act warily, and patiently to wait their time.

Wolsey, as if aware of his danger, redoubled his efforts to gratify his royal master, never failing to invite Mistress Boleyn to share the entertainments at York Place he continued to provide for the king. The young lady accepted these attentions graciously,

but cultivated her "grudge" nevertheless, till the king had become her devoted slave.

There is a curious illustration of the superstitious usages of the times preserved among the Rolls House Miscellaneous MSS. (quoted by Mr. Froude), which we cannot refrain from repeating. The cardinal, it appears, was regarded as "a wise man," in a sense not quite obsolete, but of general acceptance in the Middle Ages; at least, it seems that he was so regarded by a certain Benedictine monk, who wrote to him the following statement:—

"And where your most noble Grace here of late was informed of certain things by the duke's Grace of Norfolk, as touching your Grace and him, I faithfully ascertain your noble Grace, as I shall answer to God, and avoid your lordship's high displeasure, and the truth thereof is as hereafter followeth; that is to say, one Wright, servant to the said duke, at a certain season, showed me that the duke's Grace, his master, was sore vexed with a spirit, *by the enchantment of your Grace.* To the which I made answer that his communication might be left, for it was too high a matter to meddle withal. Whereupon the said Wright went unto the duke's Grace and showed him things to me unknown. Upon the which information of Wright the duke's Grace caused me to be sent for; and at such time as I was before his Grace I required his Grace to show me what his pleasure was; and he said I knew well myself, and I answered 'nay.'

"Then he demanded Wright whether he had showed me anything or nay; and he answered he durst not, for because his Grace gave so strict

commandment to the contrary. And so then was I directed to the said Wright unto the next day, that he should show me the intention of the duke's Grace. And so when we were departed from the duke's Grace, the said Wright said unto me in this wise:—

"'Sir William, ye be well advised that I showed you a while ago, that I heard say my lord's Grace here was sore vexed with a spirit, by the enchantment of the lord legate's Grace; and so it is that I informed the duke's Grace of the same, and also have borne him in hand that you, by reason of the cunning that you have, had and would do him much good therein. Wherefore my counsel and arede shall be this: the duke's Grace favoureth you well, and now the time is come that you may exalt yourself, and greatly further your brother and me also. Wherefore you must needs feign something, as you can do right well, that you have done his Grace good in the avoiding of the same spirit.' And then came my brother unto me, at the request of the said Wright, which in likewise instructed me in the same. And then I made answer to them that I never knew no such thing, nor could not tell what answer I should make; and then they besought me to feign, and say something what I thought best.

"And so I, sore blinded with covetise, thinking to have promotion and favour of the said duke, said and feigned unto him at such time as he sent for me again and gave me thanks, that I had forged an image of wax to his similitude, and the same sanctified; but whether it did him any good for his

sickness or nay, I could not tell. Whereupon the said duke desired that I should go about to know whether the lord cardinal's Grace had a spirit; and I showed him that I could not skill thereof. And then he asked whether I ever heard that your Grace had any spirit or nay. And I said I never knew no such thing; but I heard it spoken that Oberyon would not speak at such a time as he was raised by the parson of Lesingham, Sir John Leister, and others, because he was enchanted by the lord cardinal's Grace. The which duke then said that if I would take pains therein he would appoint me to a cunning man, named Doctor Wilson. And so the said Doctor Wilson was sent for. And when the duke's Grace and he were together they came and examined me. And when I had acknowledged all the premises, then the duke's Grace commanded me that I should write all things, and so I did.

"And that done, he commended me to your noble Grace; without that ever I heard of any such thing concerning the duke's Grace, but only of the said Wright, and without that ever I made or can skill of any such causes. Wherefore, considering the great folly which hath rested in me, I humbly beseech your good Grace to be good and gracious lord unto me, and to take me to your mercy."

It will presently be seen that the duke of Norfolk had recourse to other arts against Wolsey, scarcely less dark of hue than the one the professors of which he is here shown to have patronized.

CHAPTER VIII.

THOMAS WOLSEY, CARDINAL LEGATE.

Reasons of State for a Divorce—The Cardinal's Policy and that of the Papal Court—Complaints against Wolsey—Arrival of Cardinal Campeggio—His Delays—Proposed Compromise—The Emperor and the Cardinal—Queen Katherine—The King requires Hampton Court—The Divorce Cause commenced—Adjournment of the Cause—Wolsey's Reproof to the Duke of Suffolk—His last Interview with the King—The Stolen Note—His Dismissal—Leaves York Place—Is overtaken on his road to Esher—Patch, the Cardinal's Fool—Fidelity of his Servants—The King's comforting Message—Conduct of Cromwell—Prosecution of Wolsey—Visit of the Duke of Norfolk—The Cardinal's Illness—The King sends his Physicians—Wolsey removes to Richmond—Goes to the North—His Popularity—Is arrested by the Earl of Northumberland—His Illness at Sheffield Park—Dies at Leicester Abbey—A Contrast—Estimates of his Character.

WOLSEY was for some time employed in canvassing the opinions of eminent churchmen and legates at home and abroad as to the dispensing power of the Pope to enable any one to marry his brother's widow. Not only the English universities, but the French and Italian were appealed to, and all were induced to decide against the legality of such power. Then the cardinal summoned the English prelates to give their opinion, which being to the same effect, a commission was sent to the Pope either to obtain his confirmation of their judg-

ment, or to get him to permit the matter to be decided in England in a court to be presided over by Wolsey.

Reasons of state were now canvassed by most of the king's counsellors. The necessity of his highness leaving male issue was evident to all, and the unlawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow was accepted by many. Wolsey does not seem in the early stage of the question to have declared the indissolubility of the queen's second marriage.

Having detached Henry from the Emperor, the cardinal wrote to the Holy Father declaring that he had done this with the understanding that the desired divorce was to be permitted. It seems to have been his intention, if the union of Rome and England he had suggested had been brought about, to commence reforming the more glaring abuses of the Church.*

Clement VII. was not ignorant of the advantage of having such a champion as the king of England; but he stood in awe of the late conqueror of Rome, the near kinsman of Katherine, who would be sure to regard the concession as a personal insult; he therefore continued irresolute, notwithstanding Wolsey's urgent solicitations and the king's pressing demands. The arguments used by the former were at last mixed with warnings.

"If his Holiness," he wrote to his agent, "which God forbid, shall show himself unwilling to listen to the king's demands, to me assuredly it will be but grief to live longer; for the innumerable evils which I foresee will then follow." He presages universal and inevitable ruin as the consequence of a refusal to grant the divorce.

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," i., Appendix 10.

Among the reforms the cardinal contemplated was the abolition of the abuse of sanctuary. The following letter to Lord Dacre from him shows how sternly he set his face against it.

"My Lord,—I commend me heartily unto you, and where of late an heinous murder was committed at Shereston within my bishopric of Durham, by one Robert Lambert, Richard Littlefare, William Turnour, Robert Johnson, and others, which (as I am informed) murdered one Christopher Radcliffe, and after the same murder committed, the said R. Lambert fled unto the Priory of Tynemouth for refuge and sanctuary, and there, as yet, remaineth (as is said). I will and desire you that by all means and politic ways which ye can devise, ye endeavour yourself with diligence for the apprehending and taking as well of the said Robert Lambert as of the other malefactors, which (as I am informed) go abroad in this my bishopric as yet unpunished. And after that ye have taken them, or any of them, to be delivered unto the hands of Sir William Bulmer, knight, my sheriff there, in his keeping to remain until such time as they may be ordered by the king's laws, and receive punishment according to their demerits; and in so doing ye shall minister unto the king, our sovereign lord, right acceptable service in the furtherance of his laws, to the terrible example of other like offenders. Thus I commit you to God. From my place at Westminster, the 12th day of June, [1523.]

"Your loving Friend,

"T. CARD. EBOR."*

* Dugdale, "Monasticon." Bandinel, iii. 306.

As we have shown, the influence of the Lutheran reformation was displaying itself conspicuously in England, and Wolsey in his communications with the papal government, had warned it that secession was impending. Henry VIII. had supported the Pope at a critical juncture, with such good effect, that his Holiness expressed his obligations in very strong terms, and even held out hopes that the king's wishes respecting the divorce might be complied with. But Clement merely put this forward diplomatically. The Curia, or Divorce Court, was under the influence of the Emperor, and the indissolubility of the marriage had been proclaimed by a former pontiff. These were insurmountable difficulties in the way of Henry's success at Rome.

The Supreme Pontiff indeed was in a position of no slight perplexity, and he strove to escape from it in vain. Clement satisfied himself by stating to Wolsey's secretary Gardiner, then at Rome, that the death of Katherine would be an incalculable advantage to Christendom, as her life threatened the spiritualities of the Church with the ruin the Emperor had brought on the temporalities. This, however, was not the language his Holiness was holding to the queen or to the Emperor. The latter had declared himself her defender, and was employing all his influence to induce the Pope to favour her cause; in England his agents were equally active.

In the reformation of some of the religious houses,* Wolsey had met with determined opposition from

* The Cardinal endeavoured to reform the rules of St. Augustine in the year 1519. His regulations are preserved among the Cotton. MSS., Vesp. F. IX.; Dugdale, "Monasticon;" Bandinel, vi. 38.

the inmates. There was in particular a nunnery at Wilton, the sisters of which were extremely contumacious, as may be seen by a letter to him from his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Bennett, dated 18th of July, [1528.]* An abbess was elected to this house contrary to the king's wish that the elder sister of one of his gentlemen should be chosen for the post. It seems that while Henry was dissatisfied with this occurrence, he was required to listen to artful misrepresentations of the cardinal's appropriations for the endowment of his colleges. It was not the first time that such complaints had been made to him. He therefore wrote a remonstrance, which no doubt produced a powerful effect. Wolsey's explanations appear to have been considered satisfactory. Then he wrote to the king acknowledging his gracious goodness, and the zeal his majesty has for "the purity and cleanness of my poor conscience, coveting and desiring that nothing should be by me committed or done by the colour of my intended college or otherwise, that should not stand with God's pleasure and good conscience, or that thereby any just occasion should be given to any person to speak or judge ill of my doings." He acknowledges having received assistance from some of his friends, but not near to the extent reported, and promises, however straitly he may be obliged to live, to refuse all further assistance of the kind, that "your poor cardinal's conscience shall not be spotted, encumbered, or entangled."†

His enemies were disappointed when they found

* "State Papers," Henry VIII., i. 314, note. † Ibid., 318.

him more in favour than ever, and thoroughly restored to the royal confidence.

In the year 1528, on the 14th of July, a convocation was held at St. Mary's church, Oxford, to hear Dr. Hygden, the dean of the new college, explain the cardinal's intentions, when the new charter was read. The town-people, headed by the mayor, were strongly opposed to it: the authorities were obliged to complain to Wolsey; but as he was just then declining in power, they became bolder, and shut out his friends from the Guildhall. This outrage caused the mayor to be excommunicated, and the sentence having been carried out, that functionary expressed his contrition. Influential friends now interposing, his worship was publicly absolved; and he having taken an oath to respect the rights of the Church, the dispute came to an end.

At last, after long delays, Cardinal Campeggio arrived in England, ostensibly to assist Wolsey in trying the cause. He was so dilatory that the patience of the king gave way, he became angry, and his minister's influence began to fade. In August of this year, the latter confessed to the bishop of Bayonne that could he only be permitted to behold the settlement of the divorce and the succession, and the re-marriage of the king, as well as the reforms he had contemplated in operation, he would be quite content to retire from the world and devote himself for the remainder of his life to the service of God. On the 4th of the following October he wrote in the highest spirits to his agent at Rome, apprising him that a happy issue of the troublesome case was near at hand.

The bright prospect vanished when he learned the instructions of his coadjutor. Evasion and delay formed their principal features. Something in the shape of a compromise was at last arranged, apparently with the Emperor's consent,—a suggestion that the queen should take the vow of chastity and live the life of a recluse; a course which has received the sanction of at least one eminent historian. The only answer Katherine gave the legates was a promise to take the vow of chastity provided the king did the same. This was rather bitter, as she knew that a desire for male offspring was the foundation of Henry's wish for a divorce. Her reply suggested a diplomatic arrangement of the difficulty. The terms were to be accepted; and the queen having been disposed of in a nunnery, the king was to get a dispensation, and remarry at his convenience.*

The Emperor was by no means an unconcerned spectator of what was going on in England and Rome, moreover was well acquainted with the master hand that had planned the military combination he was preparing to repel. Indeed, when he answered the declaration of war against him brought by Clarencieux, he spoke out. "I am perfectly aware," he said, "from whom these suggestions have proceeded. I would not satisfy the rapacity of the cardinal of York, nor employ my forces to seat him on the chair of St. Peter; and he, in return, has sworn to be revenged, and now seeks to fulfil his purpose."

Charles ignored the fact that he had twice so-

* "State Papers," vii. 136.

lemnly promised to secure that seat to the cardinal, at the time when he had made careful provision against his obtaining it.

Wolsey had contrived to make Anne Boleyn his bitter enemy, and at the same period was regarded by Queen Katherine with similar hostility. The queen always considered that he had originated the idea of her divorce, and she shared the sentiments of her imperial kinsman against him. When he accompanied Campeggio on his first visit to her, after entering into a detail of her grievances to his companion, she turned sharply round to him: "But of this trouble I only may thank you, my lord cardinal of York," she said bitterly; "because I wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny; therefore of malice you have kindled this fire and set this matter abroad; and especially for the great malice you bear to my nephew the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion."*

Much more was said to the same effect. He replied with moderation and temper, denying that he had instigated the proceedings against her; moreover he averred that they were contrary to his wishes. Katherine's prejudices were not to be removed, nor is it probable that Wolsey would take much pains to remove them. His hostility to the Emperor was undeniable, yet was not without ample provocation; but he could not be expected to further the divorce for the purpose of gratifying the ambition of a woman by whom he was hated.

* Hall, 755.

A visitation of the plague put a temporary stop to the proceedings; and the lovers, the legates, and the queen had enough to do to take proper precautions against the infection. Much to the credit of Henry, he showed himself as solicitous for the safety of his faithful counsellor as for that of his seductive mistress; while his fears for himself betrayed themselves in increased attention to his religious duties. The plague disappeared, and simultaneously the court became as gay and thoughtless as ever.

Although Wolsey generally, when at his magnificent mansion by the Thames, and writing to the king, had dated his letters "from *your* manor of Hampton Court," he continued to reside in it till Sir William Fitzwilliam wrote on Wednesday, the 23rd of September, 1528, expressing the king's desire that he should remove, as he intended taking up his residence there on the following Saturday. Cardinal Campeggio landed at Dover six days later; and Henry's taking possession at such short notice is not without a certain suggestiveness. On the 27th the cardinal addressed the king from "your manor of Richmond."

Wolsey wrote in this year a Latin preface for Lily's Grammar, which he desired should be taught the scholars of his new foundation. It is thus translated:—"Rudiments of Grammar and a method of teaching not more intended for the school at Ipswich, happily founded by the Most Reverend Lord Thomas, Cardinal of York, as for all schools throughout England." In the preface he says that being led by a desire to improve the minds of the people, and being filled with the utmost zeal to

promote learning and piety in his native place, he had established a Latin school, to which he had appointed two learned professors, under whose tuition he intends the British youth may from an early period imbibe both morals and letters.

By this time Henry's patience was exhausted, and the credit of his able minister declined more and more. The king had settled Anne Boleyn at Greenwich Palace, with a court of her own, as his intended wife. Moreover, he despatched her cousin, Sir Francis Bryan, to Rome, to insist upon the divorce, and to threaten the Pope that if he did not consent, it should be done without his assistance. Wolsey began to be neglected; indeed, the queen-expectant, who at one time had been content to be classed among the humblest of his well-wishers, now openly exhibited her hostility. This feeling, as soon as it became known, was shared by the multitude to such an extent that a riot was anticipated and the cardinal's safety menaced.

The public mind was at last tranquillized—the long-anticipated trial for divorce being opened by Wolsey and Campeggio in May, 1529. The royal pair were severally examined. As the constitution and proceedings of this court have been often described, it may suffice here to state that neither Wolsey nor Campeggio appears to have been in earnest in Henry's cause. When Katherine left the court, refusing its jurisdiction, Wolsey addressed the king, appealing to him to say whether he had been the mover of the divorce, as had been alleged to his prejudice. Henry acknowledged that he had been against it, and stated that the idea of the

illegality of his marriage had been started by the bishop of Bayonne when he was ambassador to England. The trial went on—dragged on—till the king, excited by the complaints and impatience of Anne Boleyn, became angry with the two cardinals.

The Emperor was unremitting in his endeavours to save his aunt from the indignity with which she was threatened, and at last contrived to influence the Pope to assist him. A very satisfactory negotiation was in progress, that promised the Pontiff a renewal of his power in Italy; and then secret instructions were sent to Campeggio, which he carefully fulfilled.

The bull of dispensation for the marriage had scarcely been produced in the court, when a copy of a brief of the same date was brought forward. The authenticity of the latter document required to be proved, but the original was in the possession of the Emperor, who would only send it to Rome. The cause, therefore, had to be referred there. The trial had gone on till the 23rd of July, when, on the king's counsel demanding judgment, Campeggio stated that in so grave and perplexing an affair he must have the opinion of the Pope; and then adjourned the cause till the beginning of next October.

This result appears to have taken every one by surprise, and some of the king's friends who were present could not restrain their indignation. The duke of Suffolk, oblivious of his obligations to the minister for facilitating his ambitious marriage, struck his hand upon the table, exclaiming angrily, "We have never been merry in England since a cardinal came amongst us."

This provoked Wolsey, against whom the insult was directed. He started up and thus addressed the duke:—

"Sir, of all men within this realm, ye have the least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals; for but for me, simple cardinal as I am, you at this moment would have had no head upon your shoulders, and no tongue therein to make so rude a report against us, who intend you no manner of displeasure. Know you then, proud lord, that I and my brother here will give place neither to you nor to any other in honourable intentions to the king, and a desire to accomplish his lawful wishes.

"But bethink you, my lord, were ye the king's commissioner in a foreign country, having a weighty matter to treat upon, would ye not advertise his majesty or ever ye went through the same? Doubtless that ye would right carefully; and therefore I advise you to banish all hasty malice, and consider that we here be nothing but commissioners for a time, and dare not proceed to judgment without the knowledge of our supreme lord. It is for this cause we do not more or less than our commission alloweth.

"Therefore, my lord," he added, impressively, "take my counsel. Hold your peace; pacify yourself and frame your words like a man of honour and of wisdom. You know best what friendship ye have received at my hands, and which I never before this time revealed to any one alive, either to my own glory or to your dishonour."*

The reproof silenced the too hasty speaker, and

* Cavendish.

as the court broke up he left it without attempting another word. He was aware that there was a listener concealed behind the curtain—this was the king.

Intense was the indignation excited by so unsatisfactory a conclusion of the trial, and no one protested more spiritedly against the proposal of transferring the cause to the Pope and the cardinals than the now unpopular minister. In a communication to his agent he threatens that if his royal master be cited to appear before them, he would come with such an army as should be formidable to the Pope and all Italy.*

The declaration was of no avail; the Pontiff had resolved not to grant the divorce, and the king was equally resolute to have it. The latter now determined to appeal to the nation.

Wolsey accompanied his brother legate to take leave of the king, then staying at Grafton, in Northamptonshire; but his reception was far from encouraging. Though he heard from the courtiers how greatly he had excited the royal displeasure, undauntedly he ventured into the presence. During their conference, when a private communication of his to the Pontiff was produced by Henry, he contrived in some measure to allay the wrath a knowledge of its contents had created. He was invited to remain and dine with the noblemen of the court; whilst his majesty shared the same meal with "Mistress Anne," now living with him as his wife. During the time the king was at dinner, his fair companion inveighed so bitterly against Wolsey, that he told her he could

* "State Papers," vii. 193.

perceive that she was not the cardinal's friend. She replied, pertly, she had no cause to be—nor had any one who loved the king. Presently, Henry returned to the presence-chamber, and taking his minister to a window, conversed with him privately; after that, he led him to another chamber, where he continued the conversation till it became dark, and on his departure bade him return in the morning.

After the cardinal had left, Mistress Anne renewed her exertions against him, and with such effect, that in the morning she contrived to ride away with her royal lover, and keep him at a distance till she knew that Wolsey must have departed. Campeggio took his way to the coast, intending to return to Rome; but the enemies of his co-legate made the king believe that he was secretly sending out of the kingdom vast treasures belonging to him; so a messenger was sent after Campeggio, with a warrant to search his baggage. The search does not appear to have been attended with the expected results. It is said that the latter succeeded in carrying off the love-letters of Anne Boleyn, taken from the king's private cabinet. Whether this was in retaliation for the secret communication which had surreptitiously been procured from Rome, and had been shown the minister at Grafton, has not been stated; but there is reason to believe that Wolsey had suggested to the Pope the removal of the cause to Rome. His note had been abstracted from the Pope's papers, and placed in the king's hands, with the object of ruining him. Ultimately his enemies made such use of this evidence of his opposition to the king's wishes, that it became well known at court that his dismissal was impending,

and the queen-expectant and her coadjutors were in the highest degree of exultation.

On his return to town, the cardinal resumed his duties as chancellor; but was evidently preparing for his disgrace. In the Michaelmas term of 1529 he presided in the Court of Chancery with even more than his usual dignity; but the suitors, who had learnt to have confidence in his integrity, saw him no more. Two days later, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both secret and bitter foes, came to his house to command the surrender of the great seal; but as they had not provided themselves with a warrant, he declined parting with the insignia of his office without a proper authority. The next morning they returned with the royal mandate, and the great seal was delivered to them in a box.

There is a letter extant, from Alward, keeper of the cardinal's wardrobe, addressed to Cromwell, 29th September, 1529, sixteen days after the attorney-general presented an indictment against him in the Court of King's Bench, that describes the last interview of Henry and his minister, at Greenwich Palace; the writer avers that one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber had told him that there was then "as good and as familiar accountenance showed and used between them as ever he saw in his life before."*

To propitiate the popular party, the king dismissed the obnoxious minister, and called around him counsellors pledged to a different policy. The chancellorship was again offered to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, but declined, on the plea of growing

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, i. 309.

infirmity. It was accepted by Sir Thomas More. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk assisted at the council; but the chief power in the new government was considered to remain with Mistress Anne, who evidently aspired to act the queen before she had secured the dignity. Wolsey, who took his disgrace very much to heart, did not see the intense gratification his fall excited among the courtiers who were devoted to the new order of things; nor could he hear the threats which were hurled against the Church, of which he was so bright an ornament. The new counsellors were, however, too prudent, and the king too sagacious, to encourage such extreme views. Indeed, at one time it was confidently reported that the change would be of short duration; and the return of the banished cardinal to all his old state and power was regarded as by no means a remote contingency.

When Wolsey perceived that his ruin was resolved on, he caused inventories* to be made of all his valuables, and had the most costly things collected together for the king when he should take possession of York Place.† Silks of all colours, velvet, satin, damask, tufted taffeta, grograms, sarcenet, in con-

* One of the inventories of furniture made before the cardinal quitted York Place is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, of which Sir Henry Ellis has given an account. Of the numerous pieces of tapestry there described, only one is believed to be in existence. It then ornamented a room at the east end of the great hall at Hampton Court, and was easily recognised by the cardinal's arms repeated on it—once having the hat and tassels, and once impaling the arms of his archbishopric. —"Original Letters," 1st Series, ii. 15.

† The name was subsequently changed for Whitehall.

siderable quantity, and a thousand pieces of fine holland, were spread on the tables; while one side of the walls was hung with cloth of gold, of tissue, of silver, and of baudkin of different colours, and the other with copes made for his colleges of Ipswich and Oxford, the richest ever beheld. In one room, called the gilt chamber, he set up all his gold and gilt plate; in the council-chamber, all the silver and parcel-gilt plate.

So popular was the disgrace of the favourite, that when he entered his barge, a thousand boat-loads of spectators crowded the Thames to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing him taken to the Tower. They were much disappointed, however, when they observed him passing in a contrary direction. He proceeded up the river to Esher, where he had been banished.

His supremacy had made him powerful enemies; the most vindictive, unfortunately for him, was the nearest to the sovereign to whose interests he had ever been faithful, and as he floated in his barge on the bosom of the silvery Thames, far out of sight of the hostile Londoners, he fed his hopes of recovery from his present humiliation, on the many proofs that once indulgent master had given him of his esteem and affection.

He landed at Putney, and then with his retinue took horse, and rode along the road to Kingston. A very bad road it remained long afterwards, and in the closing autumn of 1529 must have appeared worse than usual to the sad cavalcade then pursuing it. If the fallen favourite obtained a glimpse from the opposite bank, near Hampton, of the enduring

monument of his munificence and taste he had there erected, he could scarcely have avoided experiencing an assurance that the recipient of so princely a gift could never look upon it without some return of the affectionate interest the donor had long inspired.

He knew that the restoration he had ordered in the old palace of Bishop Wainfleet had not been completed, and a prospect of discomfort began to add to his heavy troubles, when one of the courtiers rode up to him with a message that transported him with joy. The cardinal recognized him as a gentleman of the royal bedchamber, of the name of Norris.

There cannot be a doubt that the king's heart had relented when he sent Norris to assure the cardinal that he was as much in his favour as ever he had been, and so should remain, and that what he had done unkindly was more for the satisfaction of some than from any indignation. In addition the king directed Wolsey to be of good cheer, and take things patiently, as he was able to recompense him with twice as much as he had taken away.

The disgraced man listened to this grateful intelligence under feelings of very strong excitement. Immediately tearing his cap from its fastenings, bareheaded he threw himself from his mule, and knelt on the dirty highway to return thanks to God. The courtier must have been strongly affected by the cardinald's emotion, for he knelt down beside him, took him in his arms, and assured him that he might credit his message. The gratitude of Wolsey did not evaporate in words. He acknowledged that

he possessed nothing but the clothes on his back; then plucked from his neck a gold chain, to which was appended a vessel containing a piece of the Holy Cross, which, as he said, he would not have parted with at any other time for a thousand pounds. This he presented to Norris as a reward for his good news. Then at a loss to evince his gratitude to the king, he remembered that one of his domestics had often attracted his attention, and he determined to offer him as a gift. This was "Patch the fool." It so chanced that the poor fellow, if deficient in mind, was not so in heart. He entertained so warm an appreciation of a kind master, that he could not reconcile himself to quitting his service, even for sure preferment at court, and made such violent opposition to the transfer, that it required six of his master's strongest servitors to help Mr. Norris to convey him to the king.

In far better hope, at the termination of this dramatic incident, Wolsey proceeded to his destination. He found Esher not only unfinished, but unfurnished, and was obliged to borrow linen and furniture of his neighbours before he could eat, drink, or sleep in any comfort. The house was also discovered to be damp.

Whatever reawakening of old affection there may have been in the king, it was not suffered to produce any change in the cardinal's position. He was permitted to remain at Esher in great discomfort and increasing anxiety of mind. His attendants continued faithful to him, notwithstanding his disgrace. Cromwell suggested that they should be called together, and as there was no money to pay

the humble servitors, he gave five pounds, and the chaplains contributed ten pounds, twenty nobles, and five pounds, according to their means. This enabled their master to pay them ten shillings apiece towards their quarter's wages, as well as a month's board wages. They departed to their homes, except those who preferred staying—the latter formed the majority.

The cardinal was grieving over the loss of some of his servants, when Cromwell asked permission to proceed to town, using a common phrase with him, that he would there either "make or mar." They had a private conference, and then he also went his way, taking with him Sir Ralph Sadler, a name that subsequently frequently occurs in the political transactions of the time.

The fallen favourite had not received the last of his comforting communications. The same night, the household having retired to bed, were knocked up by a sharp summons at the gate. It was pouring torrents of rain, and, drenched to the skin, there waited Sir John Russel and a few companions, who claimed admission as bearers of a message from the king. The cardinal had to leave his bed to receive his visitors. Sir John presented him with a turquoise ring, as a token from his majesty, with the assurance that he loved him as well as ever he did, and was sorry for his trouble. Russel averred that he was constantly in the king's mind, who was so anxious about him that he had, before he went to supper, sent him (Sir John) as a special messenger to comfort him as well as he could.

The cardinal *was* comforted; fires were at once

lighted, clothes dried, and a repast provided; then Sir John, after some secret communication with his host, started for Greenwich Palace. It was strictly a private mission, and that the king was really considerate was presently shown by the arrival at Esher of plate, furniture, and other necessaries.

Cromwell returned in a few days, and, to the additional satisfaction of Wolsey, informed him that he had contrived to obtain a seat in the parliament, and was likely to prosper; then, after another conference, he rode back. He subsequently communicated the proceedings that were being taken to the Cardinal's prejudice, and received instructions as to how they were to be met.

The House of Lords, where his enemies were numerous and powerful, pursued him with no less than forty-four articles of impeachment, many frivolous and some absurd; no evidence in support of them was produced, nor was a voice raised in his favour. The articles were at once sent to the king, with a prayer for his banishment and removal from all his posts. An indictment was then laid against him, founded on the Statute of Provisors. Seeing now that he was not likely to escape, he confessed having infringed this law, and threw himself on the royal mercy. The judges pronounced a severe sentence, to the extent that his property was forfeited, and his person might be imprisoned. After his surrender of the riches of York Place, this prosecution appears to have entirely dropped.

There are two short communications from Wolsey

to the king after his disgrace, touching in their humility and sorrow. It is doubtful that they produced any commiseration; if so, it could only be a transient feeling. The king did not write in reply; in truth, as far as can be judged by his acts, he seemed afraid of interfering in his favourite's behalf openly, and at last surrendered himself to the task of securing his property, which common report had immensely exaggerated. The cardinal wrote to his "entirely beloved Cromwell" more than once. One of his communications, believed to be addressed to his old servant, betrays his profound anxiety and deep dejection. He urged Cromwell to come to him, saying, if he were able, he would go on foot to hasten their meeting.

"At the reverence of God," he implores, "take some pain now for me, and forsake me not in this my extreme need; and whereas I cannot, God shall reward you. Now is the time to show whether ye love me or not."

Cromwell, there is no doubt, did as much as he could for his banished master without damaging his own interest; but when he found the king determined on his destruction, there is no evidence to show that he put himself to further trouble in his behalf. A statement has been made which lays him open to the charge of ingratitude; for it has been said that at Archbishop Cramner's table in 1540, on his service to Wolsey being referred to, the then flourishing courtier asserted that this he could not deny, nor did he repent it; for he received both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities, yet that he was never so far in love with him as to have

waited on him to Rome if he had been chosen Pope.*

When it was known at court how many of the fallen minister's attendants preferred remaining in his service to abandoning him in his adversity, it produced a powerful impression, particularly on the king. He sent the duke of Norfolk to Esher. The first thing the duke did was to commend the cardinal's servants for their fidelity, and promise them the king's favour as well as his own. Wolsey spoke of them in the highest terms, and the duke affected an interest in his mission; but it was entirely delusive.

While they were conversing, there was another arrival—it proved to be Judge Shelley; but the duke, saying he had nothing to do with him or his business, retired to another apartment. The judge had been sent from the king to obtain a regular assignment of York Place. This being the town mansion of the archbishops of York, Wolsey knew that he had only a life interest in it; therefore demurred giving away what was not his own. Finding that the judges had pronounced the legality of the transfer, he did what was required. Shelley now took his departure, and was almost immediately afterwards followed by the duke.

After this his enemies at court increased their active animosity against him, fearing his return to power; and he had to endure constant annoyances. There was scarcely a day allowed to pass in which he was not deprived of one or more of his faithful servants on some pretence. He knew well the source of these vexations; and in a communication to

* Fox, "Acts and Monuments."

Cromwell expressed a desire to learn "if the displeasure of the Lady Anne be somewhat assuaged."*

The woman was implacable; all attempts to induce her to give over her persecution of the fallen man failed. There cannot be a question that she resented not only the cardinal's interference to separate her from Lord Percy, but his subsequent attempt to engage the king to marry Eleanor, duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis I. Her vindictive spirit seems to have brooded over these attempts to remove her from court, and she never lost an opportunity of letting Wolsey know that she could now retaliate. Unhappily for him, the wealth which had fallen to the king through his disgrace was artfully made a weapon of offence against him; indeed Mistress Anne and her friends, when they perceived any tender inclination in their fickle-minded monarch towards his old and faithful servant, redoubled their exertions to complete his ruin by exciting the royal cupidity for plundering him of his possessions. This treatment and the failure of his hopes had a mischievous effect upon his health. His indisposition so increased that the king, apparently in some anxiety, sent to him his most skilful physicians headed by Dr. Buttes. On the doctor's return to court, he was admitted to the royal presence.

"Have you seen yonder man?" Henry inquired.

"Yea, sire," was the reply.

"How do you like him?"

"Sir," said the physician, "if you will have him dead, I warrant he will be dead within these four

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, ii. 28.

days, if he receive no comfort from you shortly and Mistress Anne."

Henry seemed alarmed; probably his heart smote him for aiding in the persecution of one who had served him so long and so well.

"Marry!" he cried, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, Master Buttes, go again unto him and do your cure upon him, for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds."

This dialogue is related by Cavendish in his interesting record of the life of his patron and friend. He adds that the king sent a valuable ring by the doctor to his patient; moreover, that Mistress Anne, then at the king's side, at her lover's request, took a gold tablet from her girdle and gave it with a speech expressing sympathy and commendation.

The four physicians* who had been sent by the king to attend to Wolsey did not leave him till he was convalescent. He was suffering from dropsy, and the dampness of the old episcopal house at Esher increased his disorder. The doctors took a friendly interest in the invalid—some had been favoured by him; moreover, they probably imagined that the anxiety Henry had displayed might lead to the disgraced man's restoration to favour. After four days' attendance, they were able to return to town and report their patient out of danger. On their departure a recompense had been offered to each, but declined. The cardinal then received several additional cartloads of furniture, hangings, and plate; and there was evidently a disposition on

* Dr. John Clement, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dr. Cromer, and Dr. Buttes.

the part of the king to make his position more comfortable.

His residence, however, became more and more distasteful to him, and he urgently desired to get away from it. To this effect he wrote to Stephen Gardiner, one of his secretaries :—

"I pray you at the reverence of God to help that expedition be used in my pursuits, the delay whereof so replenisheth my heart with heaviness that I can take no rest. Not for any vain fear, but only for the miserable condition that I am presently in, and likelihood to continue in the same, unless that you, in whom is mine assured trust, do help and relieve me therein. For first continuing here in this moist and corrupt air, being entered into the passion of the dropsy—*cum prostratione appetitûs et continuo insomnio*—I cannot live. Wherefore of necessity I must be removed to some other drier air and place, where I may have commodity of physicians."*

Cromwell privately communicated with the king Wolsey's desire to quit Esher, and obtained his sanction for his removal to the lodge at Richmond Great Park,—the house Henry had presented after receiving the munificent gift of Hampton Court. The knowledge of this concession alarmed his enemies, who saw in it an approach to the court. The duke of Norfolk spoke to Cromwell on the subject, suggesting his return to his ecclesiastical duties. The cardinal now wanted to go to Winchester, one of his bishoprics; but it was considered too near, and the duke proposed York. Want of means was alleged as a difficulty in at-

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, ii. 7.

tempting so long a journey; but so anxious were the courtiers to get him as far as possible from the king, that they suggested an arrangement to supply him with sufficient resources. They managed to obtain for themselves a division of the revenues of Winchester and St. Alban's,* allowing the cardinal a pension of four thousand marks; but what was far more grievous to him, they caused the revenues of his new colleges to be seized by the king. In vain he urged Cromwell, in vain he pleaded by letter to Henry, that these noble foundations might be spared. His old servant was now so much in the royal favour that the persons about the court who were seeking the lands of the disgraced minister were obliged to apply to him to arrange the transfer.

Wolsey only remained a few months at Richmond Lodge when the duke of Norfolk urged his departure for the North. As a preparation for his religious duties there, he removed to the house of the Carthusians in the neighbourhood; but so eager were his enemies to get him further away from London, that as he still complained of want of funds, an advance of a thousand marks was sent to him; the king added a thousand pounds by way of benevolence, and sent word to him to be of good cheer.

At the beginning of Passion-week the cardinal

* An indenture was framed in which the cardinal surrendered to the king the bishopric of Winchester and the abbey of St. Alban's, on condition of receiving an annual income of a thousand marks. The instrument asserts that the king had previously given Wolsey money and goods to the value of £6,374. 3s. 7½d., of which a schedule is annexed.—Rymeri "Fœdera," xiv. 371.

commenced his journey, halting at the religious houses in his way; such as Hendon, Royston, Huntingdon, and Peterborough—then at Newark, and subsequently at Newstead. He had a respectable cavalcade; for many of his faithful servants remained with him, and had handsome liveries for the occasion. He appears to have been kindly received everywhere, but with remarkable hospitality by Sir William Fitzwilliam, formerly an alderman of London, who welcomed him cordially to his mansion near Peterborough. He shared in the ceremonies of the monks, bearing his palm on Palm Sunday, washing the feet of as many poor men as he had lived years—fifty-nine, and then presented each with a shilling, three ells of good canvas for shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white ones; and afterwards sung high mass in his robes as cardinal.

While staying with Sir William, he appears to have had a confidential talk with his gentleman-usher, from whom he learnt the opinions of certain persons the latter had met in London. They had condemned his submission to the arbitrary proceedings by which he had suffered; but Wolsey defended himself, averring that he thought it more prudent to confess as he did, and live at large like a poor vicar, than remain in prison with all the property and honours he had possessed. He added, "The king, I doubt not, has a conscience, wherein he had rather pity me than malign me. And also there was *the night crowe* [Anne Boleyn] that cried ever in his ears against me; and if she might have perceived any obstinacy in me, she would not have failed to have

set it forth with such vehemence that I should rather have obtained the king's indignation than his lawful favour."

It was this policy that disconcerted the plans of those who would have hunted him to death.

At last he reached Southwell, where one of his residences was being renovated for his occupation. After a short stay at a prebendary's house opposite, till it was ready, he kept house there, all the noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood thronging to him to pay their respects. He entertained them so liberally, and displayed so benevolent a nature in his archiepiscopal office, as to become extremely popular. So much confidence was placed in his wisdom and kindness of heart, that he was able by his influence to put an end to many domestic quarrels and family feuds. Of his good offices we quote the following report.

"Who was less beloved in the North than my Lord Cardinal—God have his soul!—before he was amongst them? Who better beloved after he had been there awhile? We hate oft-times whom we have good cause to love. It was a wonder to see how they were turned; how of utter enemies they became his dear friends! He gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles from his house—now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amongst them and said mass before all the parish. He saw why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper use.

He brought his dinner, and bade divers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them; if there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church and made them all one."*

The king must have been desirous that his old favourite should have a chance of regaining his position in public opinion, by the circular letters he wrote to Lord Dacre and the nobility resident in the North, as late as March, 1530, to procure for him the favourable and loving assistance of the noblemen and others in those parts. "He desired Lord Dacre to show himself towards the cardinal from time to time of toward and benevolent mind, using, entreating, and accepting him as to his dignity doth appertain."†

The intelligence of the esteem and affection the banished minister was acquiring in his diocese excited new alarms at court. "The Night Crow" and her confederates now devised a scheme for his entire destruction, and the choice of the individual selected to carry it into execution betrays the intense spite that had excited it. While the cardinal was at Cawood Castle, pursuing the same course that gained him golden opinions at Southwell, he received a visit, November 4, 1530, from the earl of Northumberland (his former attendant Lord Percy). Wolsey showed him every mark of respect and welcome, and led him into his own bedchamber. They had hardly entered the room when the earl, with an agitation that showed he was sensible of

* "A Remedy for Sedition," signature E 2, 1536.

† Ellis, "Original Letters," ii. 17.

the unworthy office he was filling, tremblingly murmured, as he placed his hand on the cardinal's arm, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason."

Wolsey was more indignant than surprised at the outrage upon his feelings, perpetrated by thus causing his former ward to arrest him. He demanded his lordship's authority, and learning that he had no warrant, refused to obey the arrest. Presently he expressed his willingness to surrender himself to a Master Walshe, in the earl's company, who at the time was arresting the cardinal's physician, an Italian, Dr. Augustini.* It is quite clear that Cromwell, notwithstanding his extraordinary influence, had not interposed in behalf of his old patron; but he was a man who went with the stream, and now, finding it too strong to contend with, allowed it to take its course. As Wolsey had obtained a pardon for all offences, the legality of the present proceedings is at least open to question.

The cardinal was kept a close prisoner and carefully watched—even his faithful gentleman usher being sworn to attend to his security. Cavendish had a conversation with his master, in which the latter expressed confidence in his own integrity; nevertheless, it is quite evident that he was overwhelmed by the evidence thus brought home to him, that his enemies were determined to effect his de-

* The site of Wenlock Priory was, in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII., granted to Augustino de Augustinis; but he did not retain it long, for two years later it was in the possession of Thomas Lawley, who lived in the Priory-house. There is grave suspicion that Wolsey was betrayed by his Italian physician.—Dugdale, "Monasticon." Bandinel, v. 73.

struction. When he was on the point of departure, he desired to see his servants, to bid them farewell; but this was at first not permitted. They were locked up in the chapel. Here they made so grievous a lamentation, hearing that their lord was going away without seeing them for the last time, that they were allowed to come to him. He spoke to them kindly, praised them for their devotion, shook each by the hand as they knelt in tears at his feet, and then sorrowfully left the castle.

At the gates he mounted the horse brought for him, and, surrounded by a great company of the earl's retainers, rode to Pomfret. It was a dark Sabbath evening; nevertheless about three thousand people pressed round the castle gates, and as they caught sight of the popular archbishop, taken away, as they believed, to meet his doom, they cried, "God save your Grace! God save your Grace!" and did not forget to supplement their blessing with a malediction on his enemies.

He was lodged in the abbey of Pomfret that night, evidently in a state of great depression and anxiety. Thence he was carried to Doncaster, where he arrived by torchlight; here again a prodigious crowd had assembled, carrying lighted candles. They hailed him with blessings, as their good lord cardinal, and cursed his persecutors. On hurried his guard through increasing throngs of excited Yorkshiremen, lamenting his misfortune, till they arrived at Sheffield Park, and placed him in the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. The earl may have been dissatisfied with the cardinal's treatment of his messenger, yet he received him honourably,

bade him be of good cheer, and said kindly that he would receive him as his good lord and the king's loving subject, not as a prisoner. He introduced his countess; when, taking off his cap, Wolsey saluted her. Then all proceeded into the house, where he was honourably lodged, and attended upon as a guest of great consideration.

This treatment does not appear to have removed from his mind the conviction that his death was intended. In vain his host assured him that he daily received letters from the king, commanding him to entertain the cardinal as "one that he highly favoureth and loveth." He felt certain that he should not be permitted to make his defence, but that his life would be taken secretly. A little time after the above assurance, he appears to have been taken ill while eating fruit. An apothecary was called in, and administered a remedy, but it was followed by symptoms of diarrhœa.

While in this condition, Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, arrived with a guard of twenty-four men. Wolsey was informed of this ominous visit, and could not help perceiving that his host's representations had been fallacious, and his own misgivings true. The earl tried to cheer him; but the disorder increased. Then the constable of the Tower was admitted. Though Sir William behaved most courteously, this did not remove his prisoner's firm conviction that he was condemned to die a traitor's death. He grew so much worse that another doctor was called in, who predicted that he could not live more than four or five days.

He had been promised a free pardon in the most ample form possible, and had written from Esher to Stephen Gardiner, then the king's secretary, to expedite the completion of the necessary instrument; but though, in his prosperity, the cardinal had done this man important service, he was far from inclined to help him in his adversity.* The heaviest blow dealt to him was the dissolution of his colleges; and he wrote urgently to the king, to Cromwell, to Wingfield, to Judge Snelling, and to the lord chief baron, to save them from their threatened ruin. A letter from Cromwell, dated 18th of August, afforded him some little comfort on these points; but there is a subsequent note from Wolsey, written before his arrest at Cawood Castle, still asking Cromwell for information respecting "Cardinal College."

Some authorities have asserted that the cardinal poisoned himself, to escape the public execution he anticipated.† There is no evidence of this in Cavendish's narrative, though in the printed edition of it (1706) the following sentence has been interpolated:—"At which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself." He had more than once expressed an assurance that his life would be taken secretly. The great anxiety he had been in might create a loose condition of the bowels, which even a limited indulgence in fruit would aggravate; and intense depression, caused by the visit of the constable of the Tower, would do the rest. It should also be remembered that he directed Cavendish to send for

* He received a pardon, which is dated February, 1530.—Rymeri "Fœdera," xiv. 366.

† Tindall's Works, 404. Fox, "Acts and Monuments," 959.

further medical assistance, saying that if he had not help shortly, he should die. If he had determined on his own death, he would scarcely have asked for such help.

In this state of body and mind the fallen minister rode from Sheffield Park to Hardwick, about four miles from Newstead Abbey, where he lay that night, evidently getting worse. Then he rode to Nottingham, still getting weaker; and the next day to the abbey of Leicester, where his knowledge of his approaching dissolution made him tell the abbot and the monks that he had come to lay his bones among them. He was so weak that he was obliged to be carried by Sir William Kingston to his chamber. While he was approaching his end, a communication came from the king about a sum of money that could not be found at Cawood Castle; and the dying man was questioned by the constable of the Tower to say what had become of it. It was a sum of £15,000, put aside to pay what the cardinal had borrowed of certain friends.

Kingston does not seem to have believed in his prisoner's danger, and continued to give him fallacious hopes. It was at their last interview that the dying cardinal is reported to have asserted that if he had served God as diligently as he had served the king, He would not have given him over in his grey hairs; that he had knelt before him for the space of three hours, to persuade him from his will and appetite; and that, rather than be disappointed in his inclination, he would endanger half his realm. We suspect, however, that these admissions to the constable of the Tower, as well as the strictures upon

"the new sort of Lutherans" that follow, were either hearsay or invention.* This conversation, moreover, is reported to have taken place during the last two hours of his life; yet the abbot and his monks are said to have administered the offices for the dying before he expired. He died November 29th, 1530.

The next day, after being laid out in his coffin, with his ecclesiastical decorations, that all might see him, he was carried to the church by torchlight by the monks, and buried with due ceremony in the middle of the Lady Chapel.

It is impossible to exaggerate the regret of both universities at the loss of the cardinal. Cambridge gratefully offered yearly obits. Oxford resolved that every one admitted to a degree should bind himself by an oath to name him in his sermon, and that his exequies should be observed; moreover, that all their complimentary decrees should remain on their registers and books of statutes.

The first name of Wolsey's new college was "The College of Secular Priests." This was changed for "Cardinal College." The foundation took place March 20th, 1525; the west end of the ancient church having been pulled down, as well as the west side of the cloister, including "London College," that had been erected on the site of a Jewish syna-

* Cavendish subsequently states that as he was going to obey a summons from the Privy Council he met the constable of the Tower, who told him that a yeoman who has conveyed intelligence of the cardinal's death to the court, had repeated what the dying man had said respecting the king, that he, Sir William, had flatly denied that such observations had been made in his hearing, and advised Cavendish to do the same, which he did, and was greatly commended by the duke of Norfolk for a true man.

gogue. The foundation-stone received a Latin inscription, containing the name and titles of the founder.* In the original plan the association was to consist of one hundred and sixty persons. In the year 1532 the king caused the foundation to be called "King Henry VIII.'s College at Oxford;" but this arrangement only lasted till 1545, when a new foundation was created, with the title, "The Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford."

After the cardinal's ruin, no one cared to see his noble intentions maintained; in truth, there seems very little doubt that they were purposely neglected. He does not appear to have taken the precaution to settle lands or funds for their maintenance. If he had, it is probable that his enemies would have procured their forfeiture.

Lord Campbell's references to the "haughty cardinal," in his biography of Archbishop Warham, betray a strong prejudice, which breaks out more virulently when, as chancellor, his claims to notice are forced upon his lordship's reluctant pen. It is insisted that he was the son of "a low tradesman;" and Lord Campbell avails himself of every opportunity of reproducing obscure scandals and insinuating groundless accusations. Nevertheless, he admits that, "with the exception of his prosecution of Buckingham, Wolsey showed no inclination to blood or cruelty;" then, being obliged to allow his high qualities as a chancellor, his lordship confesses that he is at a loss to imagine how he got through

* Dugdale, "Monasticon," i. 141. The bulls for the suppression of St. Frideswide and for the foundation of the Cardinal's College will be found at pp. 151-66.

the business of his office without "exposing himself to ridicule from his ignorance of legal distinctions."*

The lawyers were extremely enraged against the cardinal for the manner in which he discouraged litigation and punished chicanery; and not having any other way of exhibiting their ill-will, devised a masque, in which he was covertly ridiculed. He sent for the author, Serjeant Roe, deprived him of his coif, and committed him to the Fleet. The actors were also made to appear before him, were duly admonished, and one of their number had to keep the serjeant company. His anger, however, evaporated in a few days, and the offenders were liberated.

The attention of Henry had recently been directed to the opinions of the reformers. In July, 1530, he wrote to the university of Oxford, desiring information respecting the articles against Wickliffe, and the subsequent condemnation of the Council of Constance. A convocation was called, and after due search the result was forwarded to him. The king not only made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condemned doctrines, but by his example they were much sought after.

It is curious that in this crisis of the Anglican Church persecution should have recommenced with frantic severity. William Tracey, a benefactor to

* "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," i. 460. His lordship's speculations, in a subsequent page, as to the result of Wolsey's election to the papal chair, are equally open to question; but Lord Campbell a little further on says, "There do not seem to have been English cardinals till about the end of the fifteenth century."—"Lives of the Lord Chancellors," i. 483, note.

the university, had said something in his will in contempt of purgatory and prayers for the dead, which being adjudged to be heresy, his corpse was disinterred, like that of Wickliffe, and burnt; for which Parker, then chancellor of Worcester, by whose order it had been done, was prosecuted by the heirs of Tracey, dismissed from his office, and fined £400.*

The king, when Cavendish appeared before him to assure him of the death of his patron, asserted that he wished rather "than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived;" an empty assertion, which was exposed immediately afterwards by his anxiety to gain intelligence of the £15,000 missing from Cawood. The gentleman usher, now out of employment, told him where it was, and got as his reward a twelve-month's wages (£10), six cart-horses, and a cart that had belonged to his dead master, together with twenty pounds, as a gift from the king, as well as a post in the royal household.†

The most convincing proof that Wolsey saw the

* Wood, "Hist. and Antiq. Oxford" (Gutch), ii. 51.

† The king gave him several appointments and the honour of knighthood. He became treasurer of the Chamber in 1546, and a member of the Privy Council. Edward VI. and Mary I. appear to have been equally liberal. He died in 1557, after a career of singular prudence. His Life of the great cardinal remained in MS., though large use was made of it by Stow, till the time of Charles I., when, having been extensively tampered with for the purpose of creating a parallel between that illustrious prelate and the unfortunate Archbishop Laud, it was printed in 1641, under the title of "The Negociations of Thomas Wolsey." Thus it was included in the Harleian Miscellany; but excellent editions have since been published by Singer, and in Dr. Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography."

necessity of a reformation of the Church may be seen in the commission sent to represent the Anglican Church at the Lateran council, wherein the reformation of the head and members is insisted upon; and this was the subject of Dean Colet's opening discourse. There can be no doubt that the judicious intention of beginning at the beginning with a great and necessary work, was recommended by the cardinal. Another point in his favour is no less worthy of notice,—that among the articles of his impeachment he was accused of not having exhibited sufficient zeal in persecuting heretics, by which means Lutheranism had made prodigious progress.

There is a striking contrast between William, bishop of Ely (1192), and Wolsey, both having been papal legates. "Longcamp is accused of covetousness, promoting his base kindred, to the damage and detriment of others; no such thing is charged on Wolsey. Longcamp's activity moved in the narrow sphere of England's dominions, whilst Wolsey might be said (in some sort) to have held in his hand the scales of Christendom. Up Emperor, down France, and so alternately, as he was pleased to cast in his grains. Wolsey sat at the stern [helm?] more than twenty years, whilst Longcamp's impolitic pride outed him of his place in less than a quarter of the time. Lastly, nothing remains of Longcamp but the memory of his pride and pomp, whilst Christ Church in Oxford, and other stately edifices, are the lasting monuments of Wolsey's magnificence to all posterity." *

* Fuller, "Church History" (Brewer), book iii. 128.

Of the cardinal's enemies, Anne Boleyn perished on the scaffold in 1536, having, while queen of England, proved that she could be as vicious as she had been vindictive. Norris, who had overtaken the cardinal on his way to Esher, was one of her minions. The earl of Northumberland died the following year, and Cromwell, who had contrived to obtain for himself all the influence of the deceased cardinal, was beheaded in 1539. Norfolk narrowly escaped the same fate; but it overtook his gifted son Surrey. Many others of the cabal who had hunted down the great man profited as little by his destruction; but their fickle-minded monarch profited least of all. He never again met with a minister so capable of directing the affairs of his kingdom, and the remainder of his reign was marked by troubles that prevented his being honoured either at home or abroad.

Of the numerous eulogies that have been written of this distinguished prelate, one, founded on the most comprehensive knowledge of his pre-eminent ability, especially demands recognition. The learned editor of one of those important illustrations of our history published under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, has given an additional interest to his labours by the cordiality with which he has done justice to one of the greatest characters in that interesting historical period.*

Hume says of him, "A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of

* See Mr. Brewer's preface to vols. i. and ii. "Letters and Papers," Henry VIII.

judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law or equity." "I hear no widow's sighs," observes one nearer his own time, "nor no orphan's tears in our chronicles, caused by him. Sure in such cases, wherein his private ends made him not a party, he was an excellent justicer, as being too proud to be bribed and too strong to be overborne."*

As Lord Herbert states, "He was an useful minister of the king in all points where there was no question of deserting the Roman Church, of which (at what price soever) I think he was a zealous servant, so hoping thereby to aspire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he seemed more capable than any, had he not so immoderately affected it." †.

There is little doubt that he would have filled the chair of St. Peter with honour; and from the intimate knowledge he had acquired of the abuses of the Church, it is not unlikely that, if he had succeeded in his election, he would have inaugurated what so many able churchmen had desired—a reformation of the Papacy. The establishment of a system more suited to the increasing intelligence of the age would have gone far towards realizing that unity of faith which persecution had signally failed to produce.

With regard to the charge of luxurious living

* Fuller, "Holy and Profane State," 242.

† "Life and Reign of Henry VIII.," 342. Among the designs he intended to accomplish was one to secure to his country a collection of accurate transcripts of the MSS. in the Vatican. This idea, we trust, may be carried out with the fidelity which, under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, has been bestowed upon the Archives of Simancas and Venice.

often brought against the cardinal, all that need be said is, that for ages it had been a characteristic of the chief prelates of the Anglican Church, and so continued up to his own time, as may be seen by the enthronization feast of Archbishop Warham.*

And as to the "Ego et rex meus," and similar demonstrations of the minister's sense of his own importance, that he used to indulge in before foreign ambassadors expressly for their edification, and which they maliciously exaggerated in their reports,† there can be very little question that his position was what he represented it to be. The monarch who pronounced himself the State had not half so much cause for the boast as had this supreme statesman to represent himself as directing his sovereign. In point of fact, Wolsey was both the State and the Church; the king *de facto*—he governed, and governed wisely; he administered, and carried on his administration with success; he negotiated, and his policy pervaded all the principal courts of Europe. It is idle to attribute arrogance to a man of his exalted position. Those foreigners who were most annoyed at his superiority could not help acknowledging, not only that he was more influential than the king of England, but that he possessed seven times more authority than he could have exercised had he been Pope. As a churchman he was equally pre-eminent. Rome has honoured several Englishmen with the same dignity since his demise; but the royal Reginald and the princely York were not so stately, nor the noble Howard so courteous, as

* Dugdale, "Monasticon," i. 113.

† See Appendix, report of Giustinian to the Signory.

the son of the Ipswich tradesman; and for the more precious qualities of mind and heart, all that is possible to combine from the rest would not bear comparison with Wolsey's large-heartedness and comprehensive intelligence.

But the most cordial, as well as the most enduring record of his worth, are the familiar lines of the great dramatic poet who flourished when the fame of the great churchman, statesman, and scholar still survived among his countrymen.

"From his cradle
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one,
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading,
Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
And though he was unsatisfied in getting
(Which was a sin), yet in bestowing, madam,
He was most princely. Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning that he raised in you,
Ipswich and Oxford—one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it.
The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
His overthrow heaped happiness upon him,
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little;
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man can give—he died—fearing God!"

APPENDIX.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.—CARDINAL BAINBRIDGE AND THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.—CARDINAL WOLSEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

APPENDIX.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

FOR a detailed narrative of the proceedings of the General Council, through its forty-five sessions, lasting from the 5th of November, 1414, and terminating on the 25th of April, 1418, the reader is referred to Migne's "Encyclopédie Théologique," tom. xiii. pp. 627—669; "Dictionnaire Universel et Complet des Conciles:" but if he wants to learn what the English deputation said and did during these protracted sittings, he will be disappointed. There is no mention of the English cardinal (Hallam) from first to last; but the English reformer and his Bohemian apostles are more than sufficiently condemned. See also L'Enfant, "Histoire, &c."

An animated account of the council will be found in Dean Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," vol. viii. chapters 9 and 10. In Migne's "Dictionnaire des Hérésies," in the articles Huss and Hussites, there is no reference to the crusade directed by Cardinal Beaufort.

CARDINAL BAINBRIDGE AND THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

WE learn from the Sanuto Diaries that on the 24th of November, 1509, the archbishop of York entered Rome with his retinue, and was received, as usual, by the foreign ambassadors, the cardinals, and other papal officials. Scarcely had he arrived at his lodging when a message was delivered to him from the repre-

sentatives of Venice, by their secretary, assuring him that they would have joined the procession to show their regard for the king of England, but dared not, on account of the Pope having excommunicated the republic. Bainbridge treated the Venetian secretary with cordiality, accepted the apology, and assured him that King Henry, from whom he had brought a letter to the Pope on their behalf, was in favour of the Signory, and intended to attack France.* By later communications† it is clear that the Doge and Senate were pleased with the conduct of the English ambassador, who subsequently had several friendly conferences with the Venetian envoys at Rome. On the 12th of April they find that he has gone out to enjoy the diversion of the chase; and about the same date they report that he has had an interview with the Pope to assure his Holiness that he knew nothing about the reported league between France and England; but the Pontiff was in a rage, and accused them all of being rascals. It appears that the French cardinals rejoiced at the news of this alliance, and appointed the English ambassador to perform mass; but that though he declined the honour, he had a bonfire lighted before his mansion, and a table placed there with wine for all who chose to drink. Bonfires were also lighted before the houses of several of the cardinals; but Julius refused to sanction such displays, and afterwards did all in his power to effect a rupture between the two powers.

We learn from the secret deliberations of the Senate how they received the suggestions Bainbridge made to them. "The proposal of the reverend English ambassador to the Pope for a league between his Holiness, his own king, and the Signory, if carried into effect, would be fatal to the French; therefore they enjoin their ambassador to thank the archbishop of York in their name, and to tell him that they will be mindful of his excellent disposition, and show such gratitude as is their wont, assuring him also that his proposal has been accepted by the Signory for the advantage not merely of the Pope, of England, and of Venice, but of all Christendom. Although the Pope seems to decline the proposal on the ground of expense, they charge their ambassador to persuade the archbishop of York to induce the Pope not to reject the offers thus made to him, so that the negotiation may proceed and be concluded with all possible despatch. The ambassador is to declare also to his Holiness that he may increase their

* "Archives of Venice," ii. 7. † Ibid., pp. 10, 14, 16.

contingent by such amount as shall seem fit to him, they being willing to bear every expense, even beyond their strength. With regard to the suggestion of the archbishop of York about sending a legate of authority to England, [he] is to persuade the Pope to do so speedily; though, as the distance is so great, they recommend that the matter should be concluded without awaiting the mission.

"The ambassador is to announce to the Pope their readiness to bear such part of this burden as he himself shall choose. He is subsequently to make a like announcement to the archbishop of York adroitly—nevertheless to avoid irritating the Pope."*

This arrangement was carried in the Senate almost unanimously, there being but two dissentients. From the Sanuto Diaries we also learn what were the proposals of Bainbridge. He had, we are there told, been to the Pope and assured him that the king of England would enter into a league with his Holiness and the Signory, provided they brought 2,000 men-at-arms and 10,000 infantry into the field. Henry proposed to attack France beyond the Alps, and recommended the king of Scotland as a proper commander for the Venetian contingent. The Pope declined, on the score of expense; nevertheless the archbishop continued to treat with the Venetians, adding secret clauses to the treaty, the importance of which the Senate acknowledged by strong injunctions to silence.

While these negotiations were carried on, Henry proposed advancing a loan of a million ducats to the Signory on jewels of sufficient value. The king of Scotland, by means of his ambassador, Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray (the Bishop Murray mentioned in the text), was also playing a part in this diplomacy.†

Bainbridge had the distinction of being at the head of a creation of eight cardinals, and exhibited his sense of the honour by offering to raise a force of 4,000 men at his own expense, when appointed by the Pope legate to the camp of the allies. It is evident from the revelations in the Sanuto Diaries and the reports of the Venetian Senate that "the cardinal of England" took a very active part in the military proceedings. The former state (May 11th, 1511) that he had been besieging the bastion of Genivolo; and the Papal soldiers having seized upon Cento, because they could not obtain their arrears of pay, he had satisfied their

* "Archives of Venice," ii. 40. † Ibid., 42.

claim and restored the city to the Pope. Guicciardini is silent on these important services.*

It is also clear that the English ambassador entertained an indifferent opinion of Ferdinand, "on account of the uncertainty of his keeping faith"—according to the Sanuto Diaries. He had more confidence in the Venetians, with whom he cultivated a good understanding till the league was concluded. The satisfaction of the Senate is expressed in a message to their ambassador at Rome, November 17th, 1512:—"The cardinal of York has evinced wisdom, goodness, and integrity. To thank him in the most loving language possible." Indeed, his good service is frequently acknowledged, as well as their grateful sense of it.

In these Diaries there is preserved a letter from Henry VIII. to Cardinal Bainbridge, May 31st, 1512, referring chiefly to the recent battle of Ravenna, and his own warlike proceedings by sea and land. In conclusion, he states that the Archduchess Margaret has requested him to recommend the bishop of Maurienne for the dignity of cardinal, and desires Cardinal Bainbridge to press it on the Pope.†

There is another communication from the king to his ambassador, dated June 26th, conveying intelligence and instructions respecting the Emperor, the king of Scots, and the position of the Church. In conclusion, he desires to learn all that is going on at Rome, especially with regard to the extermination of the schismatic cardinals at Pisa.‡

The same authority gives the text of a letter from Katherine of Arragon to the cardinal, dated 18th of September, 1512, chiefly respecting the affairs of Scotland; as well as another from the king concerning the death of Julius and the election of Leo, the war, papal bulls, the schismatic cardinals, and the king of Scots, whose ambassador, the bishop of Moray, he directs the cardinal to intercept on his way to Rome.

At the receipt of the intelligence of the king of England's successes, the cardinal and the imperial ambassador, on the 15th and 16th of September, 1513, made rejoicings, and with four cardinals caused high mass to be performed at the church of the Madonna del Popolo, as well as burnt bonfires.§

The last reference in the Sanuto Diaries bears date July 21st,

* "Archives of Venice," ii. 45.
† Ibid., 63.
‡ Ibid., 59.
§ Ibid., 130.

1514, and gives the latest news from Rome. "Death of the cardinal of England, a man fifty years old, very rich indeed; has left much ready money and plate, and made a will, having the Pope's permission to do so. He had been the friend of the Signory. According to report, he had left property, including ready money, plate, and household furniture, to the amount of 110,000 ducats, of which, as stated by other letters, he bequeathed 20,000 ducats to the building of St. Peter's, and distributed the residue amongst his relations and servants. As archbishop of York, had benefices yielding fourteen thousand ducats. Had great power with the king of England, and was a man bold of speech (et homo che li bastava l'animo parlar)."*

A subsequent communication says: "The late cardinal of England was suspected to have died by poison. One of his chaplains, charged with the murder, had been imprisoned in the castle, and had there destroyed himself; whereupon the Pope had the body hanged in public and afterwards quartered. Certain other individuals had also been arrested. It seems the chaplain had confessed that a person in England (uno de' poese d'Inghilterra) had instigated him to do the deed; though the truth would now be ascertained through these other prisoners."

In December, Lando, the ambassador from Venice at Rome, writes that the Pope had absolved De Giglis, "ambassador from the king of England," accused of having poisoned the late cardinal, he having been found not guilty.

CARDINAL WOLSEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

THE good understanding sought to be maintained by the Signory with Wolsey, reported to be *rex et autor omnium*, and that he may be styled another king, was subject to vicissitudes. They pray him to withhold English remittances to the Emperor, and urge that they place the greatest trust in him; nevertheless, their communications are not always pleasing. The Venetian merchants present him with seven Damascene carpets; and the Senate thanks him for including the republic in the league between England and

* "Archives of Venice," ii. 180.

France. All the representatives of foreign powers combine in reporting the extraordinary influence of the cardinal. Chieregato writes to the marquis of Mantua, 28th May, 1517: "Wolsey does everything. The king occupies himself with nothing but scientific amusements. All negotiations pass through the cardinal, who manages everything with consummate authority, integrity, and prudence. The king pays the cardinal such respect that he speaks only through his mouth."*

Giustinian reports to the Signory, August 15th, 1517, certain angry speeches of Wolsey to his secretary, respecting the countenance given by the Venetian government to Cardinal Adrian. Again, on the 17th, he describes, during an interview, Wolsey's "rabid and insolent language," reflecting on the State for favouring rascals and rebels, and asserting that Venice would become a refuge for conspirators against the Pope; the English cardinal threatens the Senate that, if they continue to harbour a criminal suspected of having poisoned Pope Alexander VI., they may look for the hostility both of the king and himself. The Venetian ambassador avers, in conclusion, that he would have answered such insolent language more vehemently than he had done, had the State desired him so to do. Nevertheless, he contented himself with the mildest and most conciliatory demeanour. His government was equally submissive.†

The wrath of Wolsey had not been excited solely by the indiscreet support the Signory had afforded to the suspected poisoner; he had become aware that Adrian was an imperial spy, and having warned Giustinian of his communications with Charles V., he embraced the ambassador, and his displeasure with the offending Venetians was at an end.

As a proof that a good understanding had been completely re-established, on receiving intelligence of the confederation between the kings of England, France, and Spain, the Pope, and the Emperor, Giustinian recommenced his favourite diplomacy. He wrote to the Signory, 24th of September, 1518: "Knowing the cardinal to be greedy of glory and covetous of praise, I told him that he would obtain immortal fame by this alliance; for whereas the Pope had laboured to effect a quinquennial truce, his lordship had made perpetual peace; and whereas such a union of the Christian powers was usually concluded at Rome, this confederacy

* "Archives of Venice," ii. 389. † Ibid., 415.

had been concluded in England, although the Pope was its head."*

In a later report the diplomatist writes: "The cardinal of York had been styled Orion in a work composed by him (Giustinian). He was of low origin, and had two brothers, one of whom held an untitled benefice, and the other was pushing his fortune. He ruled both the king and the entire kingdom. On my first arrival the cardinal used to say 'His Majesty will do so-and-so;' subsequently this was changed into 'We shall do so-and-so;' and after that, 'I shall do so-and-so.'" He is further described as being about forty-six, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. "He transacted alone the business that occupied all the magistrates, offices, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal, and all state affairs were managed by him. He was pensive, and had the reputation of being extremely just. He favoured the people exceedingly, and especially the poor—hearing their suits, and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also made the lawyers plead gratis for all poor men. He was in great repute—seven times more so than if he were pope. He had a very fine palace, where one traversed eight rooms before reaching his audience-chamber. They were all hung with tapestry, which was changed once a week. Wherever he was, he always had a sideboard of plate worth 25,000 ducats. His silver was estimated at 150,000 ducats. In his own chamber there was always a sideboard with vessels to the amount of 30,000 ducats, as was customary with the English nobility. He was supposed to be very rich indeed in money, plate, and household stuff. The archbishopric of York yielded him 14,000 ducats, and the bishopric of Bath 8,000. One-third of the fees derived from the great seal were his; the other two were divided between the king and the chancellor. [Wolsey had been lord high chancellor about four years,] The cardinal's share amounted to about 5,000 ducats. By new year's gifts he made 15,000 ducats."†

The court entertainments given in England excited the admiration of foreigners of all nations. The apostolic nuncio, Francisco Chieregato, writes to the marchioness of Mantua, 10th of July, 1517, a detailed description of a joust, succeeded by a banquet, in which Cardinal Wolsey was a principal guest. He reports: "There was a buffet set out thirty feet in length and

* "Archives of Simancas," ii. 458. † "Archives of Venice," ii. 557.

twenty feet high, with silver-gilt vases and vases of gold, worth vast treasure, none of which were touched. All the small platters used for the table service, namely '*scyphi*,' dishes, basins, plates, salt-cellars, and goblets, were all of pure gold. The large vases were all of silver-gilt, very costly and precious. The guests remained at table for seven hours by the clock. All the viands placed before the king were borne by an elephant, or by lions, or panthers, or other animals marvellously designed; and fresh representations were made constantly, with music and instruments of divers sorts. The removal and replacing of dishes the whole time was incessant, the hall in every direction being full of fresh viands on their way to table. Every imaginable sort of meat known in the kingdom was served, and fish in like manner, even down to prawn pasties; but the jellies of some twenty sorts, perhaps, surpassed everything. They were made in the shapes of castles and of animals of various descriptions, as beautiful and as admirable as can be imagined. In short, the wealth and civilization of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such."*

In the services of the Church the same magnificence appears to have prevailed. According to a communication preserved in the Mantuan archives, when the marriage of the Princess Mary and the Dauphin of France was in contemplation, "last Sunday the cardinal of York sung mass in St. Paul's Cathedral. The large chapel and the choir were hung with gold brocade, with the king's arms. Near the altar was a pew formed of cloth of gold, for the king, and in front of it a small altar quite crowded with golden images one foot high, with a cross of pure gold to correspond: all the rest of the ornaments being of silver-gilt. At this altar two low masses were said before the king, whilst high mass was being sung. On the other side of the high altar was a chair raised six steps from the ground, surmounted by a canopy of stiff brocade hanging from the wall down to the chair for the cardinal of York."†

The secretary to the Venetian ambassador writes, Sept. 30th, to Alvise Foscari, describing the English court as containing upwards of four hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen, dressed in gold cloth and silk, with gold chains of unusual size and massiveness.‡

* "Archives of Venice," ii. 397. † Ibid., 464. ‡ Ibid., 470.

In the Mantuan archives there is preserved a letter, written by Wolsey to the bishop of Worcester in August, 1518, containing a description of the reception given by the court and the city of London to Cardinal Campeggio.

END OF VOLUME II.

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